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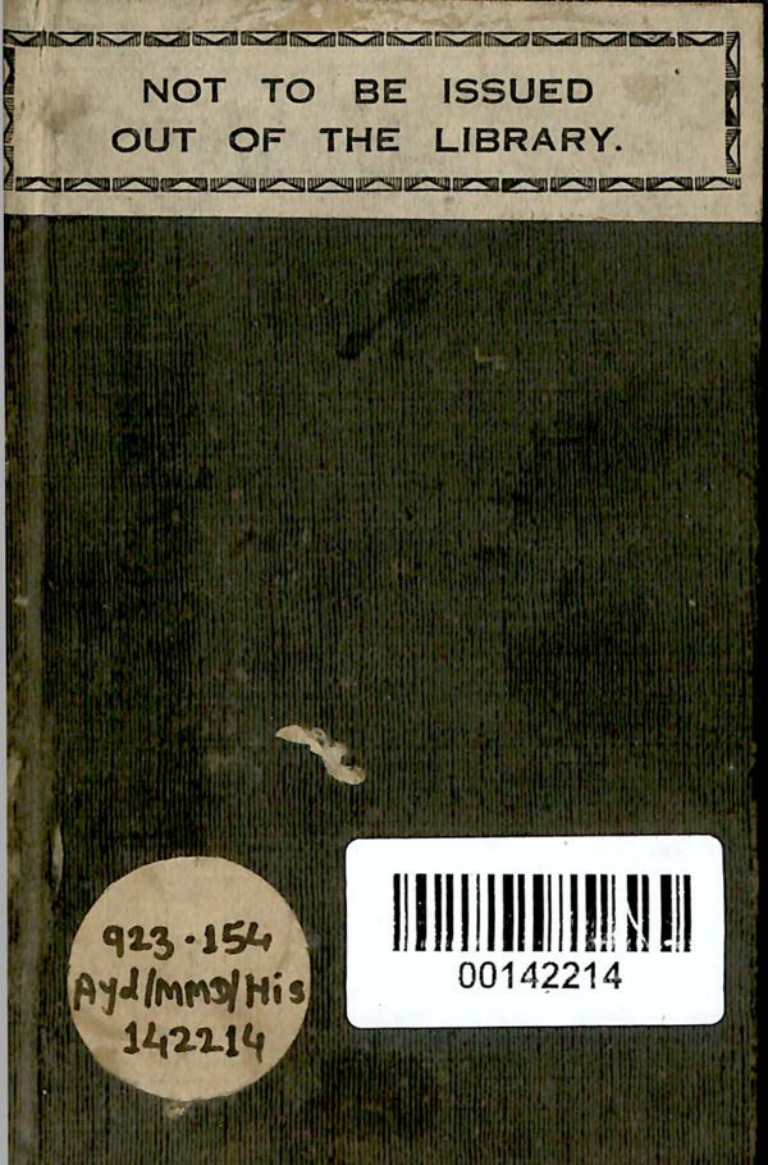

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THE HISTORY OF AYDER ALI KHAN, NABOB-BAHADER:

OR,

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New Memoirs concerning the East-Indies.

142214

WITH HISTORICAL NOTES.

142214

By M. M. D. L. T. ac

General of Ten thousand Men in the Army of the Mogol Empire, and formerly Commander in Chief of the Artillery of Ayder Ali, and of a Body of European Troops in the Service of that Nabob.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, N° 72, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

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THE HISTORY OF AYDER ALI KHAN: OR, NEW MEMOIRS CONCERNING THE EAST INDIES.

HITHERTO we have given no more than a ſuperficial account of the different wars in which Ayder Ali Khan has been engaged againſt the Marattas, the Engliſh, and other enemies, who envied his ſucceſs, or dreaded his power. The true reaſon why the former actions of this ce-

lebrated conqueror have not been given in a more ample manner in the preſent work, is, that the Author, not having joined the army of the Nabob before the time of the war on the coaſt of Malabar, did not think it neceſſary to ſpeak largely concerning military operations he could only know from the communications of others. Every perſon acquainted with ſubjects of this nature, muſt be ſenſible how very imperfect an idea of the particulars of any war can be gathered from the accounts of officers, who, engaged in their own duty, cannot have much opportunity to contemplate the general ſcene of action.

To diſplay the character, the genius, and the talents of Ayder, with regard to the art of war, it would doubtleſs have been highly intereſting to have deſcribed all the marches, ſieges, and battles, in which he has exerted himſelf. But the curioſity of the reader will be amply ſatisfied in the following volume, by the details given of facts that happened during the war between Ayder and the Engliſh. The Author will at leaſt relate what he has ſeen, and clearly come to the knowledge of; with the

the aſſurance that this, of all the wars in which Ayder has been engaged, is the beſt adapted to make known the great abilities of that Nabob; becauſe in this he had to contend with enemies who poſſeſſed the ſuperior advantage of the military ſcience and diſcipline. It will be eaſy to judge, from the war between the years 1767 and 1769, of the probable event of the preſent war, which commenced in 1779.

The war we are about to relate is ſo much the more intereſting, as it forms an epoch in the hiſtory of the Europeans in India; ſince it is the firſt war the Europeans have finiſhed by aſking peace of the Indians.

Before we begin our account of the operations of this famous war, it will be proper to give a diſplay of the forces of the reſpective combatants.

The poſſeſſions of Ayder in the year 1767, when he began the war againſt the Engliſh, conſiſted of the kingdom of Mayſſour; the country of Benguelour, that formerly compoſed part of Mayſſour; all the country called Malleam, or the Carnatic, in the charts, which

words ſignify, in two different languages, the Country of Mountains, and which comprehends all the vallies and mountains from Ambour to Madura, Travancor, and the coaſt of Malabar; the town of Scirra; the country of Ballapour; the little kingdom of Biſnagar; the kingdom of Canara, which extends from Cape Rama northwards along the frontier of Viſapour; and laſtly, the ſovereignty of the coaſt of Malabar and the Maldive Iſlands, theſe countries being only tributaries. It may be ſeen, by the chart annexed to this work, that the dominions of Ayder have the advantage of being connected together, and of being defended, on the part of the Engliſh, by mountains and narrow entrances. Theſe countries contain, if popular report may be credited, above a thouſand fortreſſes, of different magnitudes; a number, perhaps, beyond the truth: however, as an eye-witneſs, I can affirm them to be very many. All the large fortreſſes or garriſons are guarded by the troops of the army, which are changed from time to time; and by garriſon ſoldiers, who are a kind of militia, and ſerve for leſs pay than the regular

gular troops. The ſmaller fortreſſes are maintained only by this latter order of military; and, in caſe of any alarm, the inhabitants of the mountains take arms, throw themſelves into the forts, and defend them with obſtinacy ſufficient to require a ſiege. Theſe fortreſſes, which ſeem to have been conſtructed to defend the country againſt the incurſions of the Marattas, have trenches, and baſtions or towers: many of them have their revetement of ſtone or brick; but the greater part, eſpecially in the flat country, have their embankments of red earth, which poſſeſſes the property of acquiring, in a ſhort time, the hardneſs of bricks baked in the ſun. They are all kept in the beſt repair, or at leaſt have been, ever ſince they became the property of Ayder.

The dominions of this prince abound in rice, and every other neceſſary of life, as well as in cattle of every kind; that is to ſay, oxen, ſheep, goats, and elephants. As to the horſes and camels, they are for the moſt part brought out of other countries; and Ayder, by making a proper uſe of his money, is always provided with a great number of horſes

and elephants, the moſt uſeful animals in war. He has always a reſerve of theſe in the villages, to the number of three hundred elephants, and from fifteen to twenty thouſand horſe. To be always provided with a ſupply of theſe very neceſſary animals, he never fails to purchaſe all that are offered to him, provided they be robuſt and ſtrong, and the owners will part with them for the price he ſets upon them, after a ſtrict examination; and, as his offers are very equitable, dealers come to him from all parts, to preſent the fineſt of theſe animals for his inſpection.

To all theſe means and inducements that might lead the Nabob to enter into a war with the Engliſh, we may add the aſſurance he had that the Engliſh, being almoſt without cavalry, could not prevent his army from being ſupplied with proviſions from all parts of his dominions: and above all the immenſe treaſures he poſſeſſed, which, joined to the conſiderable revenues of his kingdoms and ſtates, put him in a ſituation to ſupport with eaſe the moſt long and expenſive war. In the year we ſpeak of (1767) all the forces of Ayder Ali Khan

Khan were eſtimated at about one hundred and eighty or two hundred thouſand men, of which twenty-five thouſand were cavalry: but, as it was neceſſary to garriſon all the fortreſſes, and leave ſome troops on the frontiers, the army he led againſt the Engliſh might be from fifty to fifty-five thouſand men; of which eighteen thouſand were cavalry, namely, ten thouſand of excellent cavalry, and about eight thouſand Marattas, Pandaris, and others, that cannot be better compared than to the Coſſacks who follow the Ruſſian army, being fit for no ſervice but to ravage the country, or rob the baggage of an army. The infantry conſiſted of twenty thouſand Topaſſes, or Seapoys, armed with ſixteen thouſand good firelocks, becauſe all the officers, down to the corporals, have no muſquets; beſides, this being the cuſtom in the Indian armies, Ayder was not in poſſeſſion of a ſufficient number of good muſquets to arm his troops better: they who were left in garriſon, were armed with an inferior kind, with wooden ram-rods. The reſt of the infantry were Peadars, Carnates, or Caleros, armed with matchlocks and lances.

The number of Europeans was about ſeven hundred and fifty. They were divided into two companies of dragoons or huſſars, two hundred and fifty cannoniers, and the officers and ſerjeants diſperſed among the regiments of grenadiers and Topaſſes.

There were likewiſe ſome troops, armed with arms either unknown or out of uſe at preſent in Europe, to the number of about one thouſand men, mounted two and two on running camels, having each a firelock of a great length, that threw a ball of about three ounces to a prodigious diſtance. Theſe arms have an iron reſt fixed to the barrel; and the ſoldiers, who are excellent markſmen, follow the cavalry, and plant themſelves in covered places to flank the enemy, among whoſe cavalry they keep up a very deſtructive fire. This body of troops have the ſingular privilege of an enſign for every ten men; whether it be an honour, or a piece of policy to deceive the enemy into an opinion, from the number of ſtandards, that they are oppoſed by a numerous corps of infantry. The troop is very ancient, being, according to all appear-

ance,

ance, the firſt among the Indians that bore fire-arms. The ſame number, of about one thouſand or twelve hundred men, carried rockets or fuſees of iron, which are boxes of plate iron, made in the form of fuſees, and attached to direction rods: they are of various ſizes, ſome containing more than one pound of powder or compoſition, and fly to the diſtance of a thouſand yards. Many of theſe rockets are charged to burſt; others are ſharpened at the end; and others are pierced at the foremoſt end, being charged ſo that the wind acts ſtrongly on the flame, and ſets fire to the matters it may ſtrike in its courſe. This implement is, on the whole, far more expenſive than uſeful; which, I ſuppoſe, chiefly ariſes from the want of care and attention in making them up: however they have been ſometimes productive of dreadful effects, by ſetting fire to * ammunition waggons. Theſe rockets

* According to the relation given by the Engliſh of the battle gained by Ayder againſt the colonels Baylie and Fletcher, a rocket having ſet fire to an ammunition

rockets are very well adapted for ſetting fire to towns and villages in which the enemy have magazines. A body of cavalry, not uſed to this kind of inſtrument, would be quickly thrown into diſorder by it; for the rockets falling at the feet of the horſes, emit a flame reſembling that of a forge furnace, which frightens them; and when they burſt, they do conſiderable miſchief. It is no ſmall advantage, that they deſcribe a curve line, and may therefore be thrown by people that are covered by a line of infantry. The Engliſh made uſe of them againſt the cavalry of Ayder; but, as it was habituated to the fire by various exerciſes performed with paper rockets, the horſes, inſtead of being frighted, marched fiercely over them.

A troop of Arabs, armed with bows and arrows, arrived at Syringpatnam a ſhort time

ammunition waggon, which in blowing up ſet fire to two others, the battle was loſt; becauſe Tipou Saeb, ſon of Ayder, with his cavalry, fell upon the Engliſh infantry, which the exploſion had thrown into diſorder.

before

before the departure of the army. The men were well-made, ſtrong, and active; but, as Ayder did not ſuppoſe the arms they bore would have much effect on the enemy, he formed them into two companies; one clothed in red, which he joined to his Savari; and the other, in blue, he gave to the commandant of Europeans, to apply to any ſervice he might think proper. They were very adroit in killing birds and game with their bows and arrows, which were large, and very much ornamented.

The army of Nizam Daulla, Suba of Decan, King of Golconda, &c. was reckoned one hundred thouſand ſtrong; but he had not more than forty thouſand fighting men, of which thirty thouſand were cavalry, and ten thouſand infantry. Scarcely two thouſand of the infantry were armed with firelocks; the reſt had only that kind of muſket that is called Cailletaux in India. The infantry was, however, commanded by a brave man, named Abderaman Khan, who had ſerved under Meſſrs. Bourdonnaye and Buſſi. This laſt cauſed him to be promoted to the command

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he poſſeſſed. He was very ſenſible of the bad ſtate of his troop, which was beſides very ill paid.

The cavalry was good, but much better for ſhew than ſervice; every chief being proprietor and abſolute maſter of his own troop. Following the army, for the moſt part, only as vaſſals of the empire, they were very little diſpoſed to riſque their life and their cattle in any war, except when animated by the deſire of revenge, the hope of plunder, or ſome other paſſion.

Theſe chiefs were the moſt powerful lords of Decan; ſuch as Ram Schander, a Maratta prince, who bears the name of Alexander, his ſuppoſed or pretended anceſtor; the three Nabobs or Patane princes of Sanour, Carpet, and Canour, &c.

The army was followed by a multitude of merchants, working tradeſmen, women, and ſervants, which occaſioned the camp to be vaſtly extended; and would have rendered it an eaſy matter for the Engliſh to ſurpriſe it, if Ayder had been poſſeſſed of leſs experience and vigilance. The army of the Suba, though

capable of doing very little ſervice in actual war, added vaſtly to the reputation of Ayder, and might have procured him many allies; but the well-founded ſuſpicions he entertained againſt Rocum Daulla, and even againſt Nizam, obliged him to be on his guard againſt a ſtroke of perfidy, that would have been of more conſequence to him than the loſs of a battle. Beſides, an indifference and coolneſs very ſoon aroſe between the two Subas, by reaſon of the continual wants of Nizam and all his chiefs; and Ayder was not diſpoſed to comply with their repeated requeſts for money, leſt he ſhould by that means loſe both his money and his allies. He moreover repented that he had not previouſly agreed that Nizam, after having given the inveſtiture of the Nabobſhip of Arcot to his ſon, ſhould return to his ſtates. It will be ſeen, in future, that theſe allies very ſoon ſeparated from each other.

The united army poſſeſſed a very conſiderable train of artillery, conſiſting of at leaſt one hundred and ten pieces of large cannon. That of Ayder was more numerous, better provided

vided with ammunition, better mounted, and ſerved by good European cannoniers; but, out of ſixty pieces of cannon, he had thirty of iron. The artillery of Nizam, on the contrary, was all fine European braſs cannon; and thirty, at leaſt, were French pieces, caſt in the reign of Louis XIV.; being the remaining artillery of the ſquadron of M. de la Haye, which was loſt in a hurricane in the road of Maſulipatam: this port then belonged to the Kings of Golconda, Subas of Decan, who recovered the cannon of the ſunken veſſels, which has by ſucceſſion come into the hands of Nizam Daulla. This beautiful artillery was ill provided with ammunition, badly mounted, and ſerved by Laſcars, or Indian gunners, who are uſually cowardly and unſkilful.

Ayder likewiſe employed in this war a ſmall army of about ſix thouſand men, returned from the coaſt of Malabar. He entruſted the command of this detachment to Maffous Khan, a man who he knew had no pretenſions to military ſkill; but, in his opinion, able to cauſe the people of Madura, whoſe ſovereign he was,

to revolt. This able negociator and keen politician was, however, unfortunate in the attempt to become a warrior; for Colonel Beck, a German in the ſervice of the Engliſh, pretending to fly before him, enticed him into the center of Madura, and ſucceeded in taking him priſoner.

We do not reckon the fleet of Ayder among his forces: it was then compoſed of an old ſhip purchaſed of the Danes, pierced for ſixty guns, but furniſhed with no more than fifty; three others of twenty-four, or thirty-two guns; ſeven or eight *palms*, veſſels both for rowing and ſailing, and carrying twelve or fourteen guns; and about twenty *galivats*, or large galliots, carrying eighty men, and two cannons. Three or four of the Engliſh company's frigates, that are always ready armed in the Indian ſea, would have been ſufficient to have diſperſed this little fleet. An Engliſhman, whom Ayder had appointed his admiral, having carried the large veſſel to Bombay to refit, it was ſeized, and declared good prize, as ſoon as the commencement of hoſtilities

was

was known: an action that Ayder has always regarded as perfidious on the part of the Engliſh.

The power of the Engliſh in India was in its meridian in the year 1767. That nation poſſeſſed the whole of Bengal, the richeſt, the moſt fertile, and the moſt populous of all the provinces in the empire; the number of its inhabitants being eſtimated at nine millions when it fell into the hands of the Engliſh; but ſince reduced to ſix millions, at moſt, by their vexatious and barbarous government. Beſides this province, they poſſeſſed all the coaſts of Orixa and Coromandel, having no other limits inland than the gates, or mountains; the large towns of Surat and Cambaya, the former of which is the moſt trading port of all India; the iſland of Bombay, and the country of Salſete, on the Maratta frontier; the forts of Tillicherry, Mondeli, and Anzingue, on the coaſt of Malabar; beſides a number of factories and different eſtabliſhments, ſuch as are on the iſland of Sumatra, too remote to be of any advantage in the preſent war. The territorial

torial revenues of all theſe poſſeſſions exceeded two hundred millions of French money *, as the Author of theſe Memoirs is well aſſured; having had in his hands the ſtate of the Engliſh Company's affairs, which was given to the king of England and his Privy Council.

The forces of the Engliſh in India were more than ninety thouſand men: namely, eight regiments of Engliſh infantry, of one thouſand men each; three on the eſtabliſhment of Madras, three on that of Bengal, and two on that of Bombay; beſides twelve hundred men forming the artillery companies on the ſeveral eſtabliſhments; and one thouſand or twelve hundred invalids in garriſon at various places. The Indian troops conſiſted of ſixty-four regiments of one thouſand Seapoys each; of which thirty were on the eſtabliſhment of Madras. Their cavalry might be eſtimated at about four thouſand horſe, twelve hundred only being on the Madras eſtabliſhment. All this cavalry was Indian, except about four

* In round numbers, about 8,200,000 *l.* ſterling.

hundred Europeans. General Smith, after leaving the neceſſary garriſons, had at his diſpoſal five thouſand Europeans, two thouſand five hundred Seapoys, two thouſand five hundred horſe, including two hundred Europeans; twelve hundred Indians, taught the Engliſh exerciſe, and commanded by European officers. The remainder of his army contained the cavalry of Mehemet Ali Khan; a troop not only much inferior in number to that of Ayder, but even unfit to face the cavalry of that ſovereign, by reaſon of their want of diſcipline, and the bad ſtate of the horſe.

The Engliſh have never yet ſucceeded in the attempt to form a good troop of European horſe in India. As they have ſent a regiment of dragoons from England, it is probable that their arrival may place the affair on another footing. Though it may not immediately be conceived, the reaſon of the want of ſucceſs in forming their intended troop of horſe, conſiſted in the good diſcipline to which they were deſirous of ſubjecting them.

The excellence of the Engliſh cavalry is ſufficiently acknowledged in Europe; and its ad-

vantages conſiſt leſs in the goodneſs of the horſe, than in the choice of the horſemen. The pay of a horſeman in England is ſuch as renders his ſituation very eligible; ſo that the ſons of rich farmers and tradeſmen are very deſirous of entering into the ſervice. This being the caſe, it is in the power of the officers to ſelect handſome, well-formed men, of good character, and to keep them in good diſcipline merely by the fear of being diſmiſſed. The officers who were firſt entruſted with the formation of a body of cavalry in India, thought to eſtabliſh and preſerve the ſame diſcipline among them, without attending to the great difference of time, place, and perſons. The recruits ſent from England to India are in general libertines, and people of bad character: and, as the Company will not diſmiſs a ſoldier, all the puniſhment inflicted on a horſeman is, to reduce him to ſerve in the infantry; ſo that a man is no ſooner put among the cavalry, than he is ſent back again to his former ſtation. The French have ſucceeded in forming very good cavalry in India, by attending more to

their horſemanſhip, and leſs to their diſcipline and manners.

The Engliſh at Madras, in addition to all theſe troops, in number above thirty thouſand *, had the diſpoſition of the troops of Mehemet Ali Khan; with thoſe of ſome Palleagars, and of Morao, a Maratta chief; which all together might be about twenty thouſand men. The whole army to be employed in the defence of Arcot was conſequently at leaſt fifty thouſand men; and Ayder was likewiſe under the neceſſity of marching in perſon againſt eight thouſand troops on the Bombay eſtabliſhment, who attacked him at Mangalor, the centre of his kingdom of Canara.

General Smith had the advantage of poſſeſſing an army for the moſt part better diſciplined, and more practiſed in their evolutions, than that of Ayder; with a numerous corps of Europeans, capable alone, as was generally

* There is ſome error either in this number, or in the enumeration page 18, as they do not agree together. T.

believed

believed before this war, of beating the twelve hundred thouſand men which Mehemet Sha, emperor of the Mogols, oppoſed againſt Nadir Sha, king of Perſia *. His artillery was ſerved by a ſufficient number of officers and men, bred up in the ſervice: in ſhort, he had officers and engineers of every kind to ſecond him; and was himſelf certainly much ſuperior to Ayder in military knowledge. With all theſe advantages, and a ſuperiority of double the number of firelocks, he was certain of

* This way of thinking among the Europeans was partly occaſioned by the attack of the army of Nazerzing, above three hundred thouſand ſtrong, by eight hundred French, commanded by M. de la Touche. The courage of this ſmall French army, and ſtill more of their general, is not perhaps to be parallelled in any hiſtory either ancient or modern. But the ſucceſs that attended their attempt, on that glorious day which decided the fate of an empire, is due to the policy of M. Dupleix, and the treachery of the chiefs and miniſters of Nazerzing; in the ſame manner as the ſucceſs of Nadir Sha originated in the intelligence he held with Nizam El Moulouc, the Grand Viſir, and other chiefs of the Mogol army.

gaining every battle, in which the nature of the place, or the poſt he might take, was ſuch as to prevent the cavalry of Ayder from acting to advantage.

The advantages of General Smith over Ayder were balanced by very great diſadvantages: namely, firſt, the inferiority of his cavalry, which obliged him to reduce the theatre of war as much as poſſible to the mountainous country: ſecondly, the impoſſibility of his preventing the cavalry from ravaging the country, and cutting off his convoys: thirdly, the very great difficulty of procuring a ſufficient number of oxen for the conveyance of his artillery, ammunition, and baggage; a difficulty of ſuch importance, that it reduced him to the neceſſity of having an inferior train of artillery, and to ſpare his proviſions and ſtores beyond what would otherwiſe have been neceſſary. But the greateſt embarraſſment he ſuffered conſiſted in his dependance on the Governor and Council of Madras; who, without having any well-founded knowledge of the forces of Ayder, either with reſpect to number or diſcipline—and who, at the ſame time

time ignorant of the nature of the country, were inceſſantly giving orders contrary to his views, and every rational principle of war; and even went ſo far as to reproach him for the ravages made by Ayder's cavalry, though, in his advice to them previous to the commencement of the war, he had predicted this conſequence to them. And as thoſe gentlemen never loſt ſight of the occaſions for enriching themſelves, they ſupplied the army by means of contractors, with whom they were in league; treating the inhabitants of Madras in the moſt vexatious and odious manner, under pretence of furniſhing the army with neceſſaries *.

Though

* Two ſingular methods of plundering were invented upon this occaſion. The firſt was, that inſtead of ſupplying the troops with arrack, an article eaſily procured over all the country, it was thought proper to give them rum; becauſe it could be had only from Batavia, and conſequently afforded means of enriching thoſe who were concerned in procuring it. The ſecond related to the ſupplying the army with beaſts of carriage. As no one could be found who

Though we have ſpoken of the departure of General Smith to take poſſeſſion of ſeveral places in the dominions of Ayder, we have not hitherto ſpoken of his operations; our intention being to unite all the military opera-

would engage to furniſh the army with oxen for the artillery, baggage, &c. they took them by force from the inhabitants; but, inſtead of paying for them at the rate of ſix or eight pagodas, their real value, they took them on hire, at a pagoda per month. At the end of the firſt month, they paid the owner a pagoda; but on the expiration of the ſecond, they informed him that his beaſt was dead. The ox thus obtained out of the hands of its proprietor, was paſſed to the account of the Company, as purchaſed at its full value; though, by this infamous manœuvre, it coſt no more than a pagoda. If the proprietor had choſen to have ſent a ſervant with his ox, he muſt have paid him five rupees per month, inſtead of three and a half, which is the value of the pagoda of Madras. By the operation of this happy project, the country was ſoon ſtripped of all its cattle; no one chuſing to purchaſe any, for the purpoſe of ſeeing themſelves robbed with impunity. In conſequence of this, the greater part of the army neceſſaries were obliged to be carried by men.

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tions of this intereſting war in one continued narration. The Engliſh General made ſeveral ſieges during the time of the preparations and negociations of Ayder. He took Tripetour, Vaniambari, and Singueman, without much difficulty; that is to ſay, each of theſe ill-fortified places held out ſome days. He likewiſe took Caveripatnam, whoſe fortreſs did not yield till ſeventeen days after the trenches were opened; and he beſieged Kiſnagari, a fortreſs on a ſteep mountain, where he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, after having made two aſſaults; in the laſt of which he loſt twenty-four grenadiers, beſides ſoldiers. This was the only place defended by an European officer *.

It

* The name of this officer was Conſtantin, a native of Andernac on the Rhine, in the electorate of Cologn. He came to India with Ficher's troop, in 1754; and married a Portugueſe, by whom he had a very beautiful daughter: he was ſerjeant when M. Hughel commanded the Europeans in Ayder's army. The officers diſcovered that, together with his wife, he was in treaty with the Nabob about ſelling his daughter: they regarded this tranſaction as an infamous

It was during the ſiege of this place that the armies of Ayder and Nizam began to move towards the enemy. Kiſnagari is twenty-two leagues from Benguelour, by the road

famous piece of buſineſs, that would diſgrace all the Europeans in the army. M. Hughel ſent for him, to enquire concerning the deſign laid to his charge, which he denied. A young officer in the army offered to eſpouſe the girl; and the father received the propoſal with gratitude. M. Hughel, in favour of the marriage, at the ſame time promoted the father: but that very night the parents ſold their daughter to Ayder, for fifty thouſand rupees; and Ayder ſent them into the country of Benguelour. Conſtantin has ever ſince that time lived at a diſtance from the army. After the brave defence of the fortreſs of Kiſnagari, the inhabitants of the flat country brought their moſt valuable effects, and depoſited them in the place for ſecurity: he opened the boxes and cabinets, taking out the richeſt property, to a vaſt amount, and eſcaped to Goa; from whence he went to Bombay, and afterwards to Europe. Ayder's French ſurgeon affirms, that the girl has ſince told him that ſhe eſteemed herſelf fortunate in being ſold to the Nabob; as her father and mother might have made a more ſhameful traffic with her, if ſhe had ſtaid with them.

that

that can be taken by an army; and, in order to arrive at this latter place, it is neceſſary to go through narrow paſſes, which are very eaſily defended.

Ayder directed his march ſo that, at the end of the ſecond day, he found himſelf four leagues from the foot of the mountains; being oppoſite the paſs of Vailour, which opens about four leagues from Caveripatnam, a town and fortreſs on the Paler, ſeven leagues from the paſs of Kiſnagari, which was on the right, and about ſix leagues from the paſs of Ventigheri, which is about two leagues and a half from Vaniambari. No precaution was taken to prevent the Engliſh general from being adviſed of the departure of the army from Benguelour; and conſequently he was ſoon adviſed of that event, as well by his ſpies as by ſecret informers he paid in the army of Nizam.

General Smith, on receipt of this advice, raiſed the ſiege of Kiſnagari, and poſted himſelf to defend the paſs of Vailour; and that with ſo much the more reaſon, as it was the only paſſage through which artillery could be conveyed;

conveyed; and being in the centre, with Caveripatnam in his rear, he was better ſituated to repair to the defence of the paſs Ayder might attempt; or to retire in ſafety, if neceſſary.

Ayder convened a council of war, at which Rocum Daulla aſſiſted. Its object was, to decide which of the three paſſes they ſhould attempt to force; and in order that every one might form an opinion with ſufficient knowledge of the buſineſs, he produced charts of the different paſſages, in which every particular was exactly delineated. The council decided, that as the Engliſh were poſted with all their forces to guard the paſs of Vailour, it was proper to iſſue forth by that of Ventigheri; the paſs of Kiſnagari being abſolutely impracticable for artillery: and though the army of Nizam, by reaſon of its being encamped to the left of Ayder's forces, was nearer this paſs, yet Ayder, according to the agreement, undertook to form the advanced guard with his army. In conſequence, orders were given to march at two in the morning, in a ſingle column, leaving all the baggage in the camp.

The

The Carnates, and other irregular troops, formed the head of the column; who were followed by all the Seapoys, each preceded by the grenadiers, and followed by the horſe. The artillery came next, led by two thouſand Topaſſes, their grenadiers, and the European cannoniers. And laſtly, two companies of European cavalry cloſed the march, and completed the column. Ayder, at the head of two thouſand horſe, marched on the right flank of the column.

The Engliſh being informed of the order and direction of this march, moved to oppoſe Ayder, and to gain the paſs of Ventigheri before him: a thing eaſily done, as they had but three leagues to paſs over. But it was an unexpected manœuvre to them, when, after an hour's march, the Europeans, the grenadier Topaſſes, and ſucceſſively the artillery and all the other Topaſſes, made a turn to the right, and marched for the paſs of Vailour with the utmoſt celerity.

As this troop was ſuppoſed to have no other deſtination than to eſcort the artillery, it was contrived, in the courſe of the march, that there

there ſhould be a conſiderable interval between them and the cavalry that preceded the Topaſſes, in order that this counter-march might be leſs perceived; the chief of the Europeans, who had the command of this part of the army, being alone entruſted with the ſecret *. The ſtratagem ſucceeded perfectly well. The huſſars and dragoons paſſed full ſpeed through the paſs, which is long, narrow, and winding, but very even ground. They were followed by the European cannoniers, and the grenadier Topaſſes, who ran with great expedition,

* When the army was commanded to haſten its march, on the news that the Europeans had taken poſſeſſion of the paſs of Vailour, a ſurgeon of the army, thinking to do wonders, took the opportunity of a Patmar going from Mahé to Pondicherry, to write to the governor of that place: "We are in full "march to deſcend to the coaſt. Our commandant, "who ſerves as a guide to the armies, has forced a "paſſage by the ſtrait of Vailour." The Patmar having no reaſon to avoid the Engliſh army, General Smith took this paper from him, and ſent it to the governor of Madras. It has ſince been uſed as an authentic piece to ſhew the connection between the French governor and Ayder Ali Khan.

though

though they had already marched quickly over an interval of four leagues. General Smith had been careful to leave ſome of the infantry of Mehemet Ali, and a party of Indian horſe, at the entrance of this paſs; but a body of Ayder's cavalry, that had paſſed the ſtrait of Kiſnagari, having appeared in the plain, followed by the garriſon of that fortreſs, the troops left by the Engliſh abandoned the paſs, and retired with great haſte to Caveripatnam. At the inſtant the European commandant cleared the paſs, he met Bahoud Khan *, commander

* Bahoud Khan was a Patane chief, that eſcaped the maſſacre, cauſed by Anaverdi Khan, of the Patanes in the ſervice of the Nabob of Arcot. All his family periſhed; and himſelf and his brother eſcaped only on account of their youth. Their mother having retired with them to Pondicherry, M. Dupleix afterwards gave him a commiſſion to raiſe a body of cavalry in the ſervice of France; and he became commandant of the Indian cavalry. M. Dupleix employed and encouraged this Patane, who has exerted himſelf on all occaſions to ſhew his attachement to the French. He quitted the ſervice of Nizam Ali Khan to paſs into that of Ayder. This Nabob one day

commander of cavalry, who came himſelf to acquaint him that he found no oppoſition. On this news he gave orders to fire nine cannon, three and three; the ſignal agreed

day ſaid to him, "I wonder, Bahoud Khan, that "you, who had above fifteen hundred horſe when in "the French ſervice, have no more than three hun- "dred at preſent." "My Lord," replied the other, "whenever M. Dupleix ſaid to me, Bahoud Khan, "you muſt augment your cavalry, he always added, "Go to my treaſurer, and he will advance the money "you want." Theſe words were directed at Ayder, who never pays any thing to his cavalry till they have paſſed in review before him: however, he took no notice; but replied, "You are always ſo highly at- "tached to the French, who yet are much in your "debt, and do not ſeem to think of paying you, "though Pondicherry is re-eſtabliſhed." "If it had "not been for the friendſhip and confidence of the "French," anſwered the chief, "I ſhould have had "nothing, after being robbed of every thing by "Anaverdi Khan; and if the French have occaſion "for my ſervice, I ſhall be ready to ſacrifice what I "have left, and my life too." This attachment of him, and many other Indians, has been produced by the great talents M. Dupleix poſſeſſes for govern- ment.

between

between him and Ayder that the paſs was free. On this ſignal, the Nabob cauſed his whole army to march to the paſs of Vailour, where he arrived himſelf, at the head of his cavalry, and ſaw the artillery advance, under the conduct of the Topaſſes.

General Smith was ſoon informed that Ayder's army was advancing through the paſs of Vailour, and retired as quickly as poſſible to Caveripatnam; where he did not think it expedient to ſtay, but, leaving twelve hundred of his beſt Seapoys, ſome Topaſſes belonging to the artillery, and thirty European cannoniers, he retired to Tripetour, to be nearer aſſiſtance, and at hand to receive the convoys he expected from Madras, as well as to join a body of ſeven or eight thouſand men, commanded by Colonel Wood, who was then employed in beſieging the fortreſs of Ahtour, a very ill-fortified place, defended by Carnates; againſt which, however, he employed fifteen days, from the opening his trenches to the time of its ſurrender. General Smith, when he retired, left one hundred Indian horſemen,

to bring him intelligence of the events that might happen in his abſence.

The whole army and artillery of Ayder cleared through the paſs in the courſe of the day, but the baggage and proviſions came through in the night; ſo that the Europeans in the army, who had marched from day-break till night, and were fatigued, as well by that as by hunting (the country abounding with game) were not very well ſatisfied, at night, to be obliged to eat their game, roaſted as well as they could, without bread or rice, to the great diverſion of Ayder, who in vain adviſed them to wait for the cooks.

Ayder had no ſooner paſſed the mountains with his cavalry, than he diſpatched his brother-in-law, Moctum, with four thouſand horſe, to purſue the Engliſh army, and inveſt Caveripatnam.

This order was executed with ſo much diligence and addreſs, that Caveripatnam was inveſted, as well as all the avenues leading to the Engliſh camp at Tripetour, without it being poſſible for General Smith to receive

ceive any advice by the hundred horſemen left in the neighbourhood of Caveripatnam, who were driven into the town. All the Algaras * were interrupted, and the letters being carried to Ayder, convinced him that his ſuſpicions of the correſpondence between General Smith and many of the chiefs of Nizam's army, were but too well founded.

Moctum, after leaving the care of the inveſtment of Caveripatnam to another commander, haſtened to the environs of Tripetour, and arrived during the night behind the ſmall mountains or rocks that lie about a league from that place. General Smith, who arrived at his camp the ſecond evening of his march, ſuppoſed the inactivity of Ayder to be the cauſe that he had received no news, either from the commander at Caveripatnam, or his friends in Nizam's army. In this perſuaſion he permitted the ſervants, with the greateſt part of the oxen belonging to the army, to go in ſearch of forage the next

* Algaras are couriers on foot or on dromedaries. Thoſe on foot are uſually Bramins.

morning. As ſoon as Moctum ſaw them diſperſed in the plain, he detached ſome Pandaris, or irregular cavalry, who quickly threw them into terror and diſorder. This was of courſe obſerved from the camp and fortreſs, and the piquets of cavalry, conſiſting of about one thouſand horſe, were diſpatched to chaſe the pillagers; who, according to their orders, and uſual cuſtom, fled, on perceiving the enemy, and ſaved themſelves by taking the road near which the ambuſcade was. The Engliſh cavalry were no ſooner within reach than Moctum fell upon them, and, having put them to flight, purſued them with ſo much ſpirit, that a party being prevented from reaching the camp, and endeavouring to take refuge in the town, the cavalry of Moctum entered with them, and took the place, in ſpite of the fire from the fort. General Smith, who, on ſight of the enemy's cavalry, had haſtened to draw up his forces in order of battle, was apprehenſive of being ſurrounded by the cavalry of both armies, and conſequently of being obliged to cut his way through, in order to procure proviſions and reinforcements;

reinforcements; he therefore collected as many oxen, and as much baggage, as the circumſtances would permit, and marched in three columns, his artillery and baggage forming the middle column; and, leaving the fortreſs of Tripetour, haſtened to Singueman, ſituated at the beginning of a chain of ſmall mountains, tranſverſal to the great mountains paſſing by Tirnmale and abutting at Gingi. He arrived in ſafety, though much harraſſed by Moctum, who took many oxen loaded with baggage, and about two hundred horſemen, with their horſes, of which ſix only were Europeans.

This irruption of Moctum, and the total want of every kind of advice reſpecting the operations of Ayder, ought to have given General Smith a very different opinion concerning the military ſkill and judgment of this Indian warrior, in compariſon to thoſe with whom he had hitherto fought: but, conſidering that Ayder could not come to him without beſieging Caveripatnam or Vaniambari, places whoſe garriſons might have interrupted his convoys, and being at Singue-

man, diſtant from Tirnmaly only five leagues, by a road advantageous for infantry, (beſides poſſeſſing the advantage of his camp being defended by the fortreſs, a large tank or pond, and the river) he determined to wait the arrival of Colonel Wood; for which purpoſe he wrote to the council at Madras, to order the junction of the two armies.

Ayder, the evening after he had paſſed the ſtrait of Vailour, encamped about a league and a half from Caveripatnam, which was inveſted by his cavalry. He immediately repaired to a mountain at a ſmall diſtance, from whence he could obſerve every thing that paſſed in the town. It was eaſy to perceive, from the burning of the houſes that would have favoured their approach to the fortreſs, that they intended to abandon the town, and retire into this laſt place. Ayder, in conſequence, gave orders to the commandant of his artillery, to get every thing in readineſs for ſcaling the walls by the Caleros, the Carnates, and other irregular troops, to prevent the Engliſh from carrying their effects from the town to the fortreſs. This officer, who had brought thirty

thirty pieces of cannon behind the mountain, cauſed eight to be drawn acroſs the plain, to the very edge of the ditch, in ſpite of the fire of three pieces of cannon the Engliſh had left on the ramparts of the town, after carrying the other pieces into the fortreſs, whoſe fire could not incommode them, becauſe maſked by the walls of the town. The Engliſh commandant was ſo far from expecting this attack, that, in order to ſee Ayder's horſe more at his eaſe, he had ſeated himſelf with his officers in a tent on the ramparts, at a table covered with bottles. To engage his attention, the eight pieces of cannon, eſcorted by three battalions of grenadiers and ſome gunners, marched directly to the gate on the ſide remoteſt from the fortreſs; and, having placed them oppoſite the gate, they made their firſt diſcharge at the tent of the commandant, and immediately overthrew it: after which they directed them againſt the gate, and the towers that defended it. The troops that had eſcorted the artillery laid themſelves flat on the earth behind the hedges and walls, and in the trenches of the gardens.

It was about two in the afternoon that this cannonade began. During this time, about ten thouſand, and as many volunteers *, out of all the troops of the two armies, appeared ſcattered in the plain, and hiding themſelves among the gardens and houſes that had been abandoned. The Engliſh officers, who had never beheld a ſcene of this ſort before, ſuppoſed that this multitude, arriving without muſquets, had no other intention than to rob, or to ſeek for garden-ſtuff round the town. They imagined that the attack would be made at the breach, and that there would be ſufficient time to retire into the fortreſs at the beginning of the night.

* When a place is intended to be aſſaulted by an Indian army, it is allowed to all thoſe who are not upon duty, to go and riſque their lives in attempting to enter the place, to ſhare the plunder. Great numbers, both of cavalry and infantry, go on theſe expeditions; and though the huſſars and dragoons have thirty rupees, or £. 3. 15 s. per month, many of them went in hopes to plunder Ayder's unfortunate ſubjects, who are afterwards indemnified by him.

The

The town of Caveripatnam is ſurrounded by an antique wall and rampart, with towers of hewn ſtone: the Paler waſhes part of its walls; but this river, which is very broad, was not then more than a foot deep: the reſt of the walls was defended by a dry ditch of no great depth.

About three o'clock, the different chiefs of the troops deſtined for the attack having given notice that they were in readineſs, two ſalvos of the eight pieces of cannon ſerved as a ſignal; and on the ſecond diſcharge, from eighteen to twenty thouſand men iſſued from all parts, with loud ſhouts: ſome began to croſs the river; others entered the ditch with wretched bamboo ladders; others again had only poles with hooks; and numbers had faſtened hooks to their turban-cloths, which they threw on the ramparts, and attempted to ſcramble up; and, laſtly, another party were extremely buſy chopping the gates with hatchets: the whole ſcene was very ſtriking and laughable; and the activity of the aſſailants was vaſtly increaſed by the aſtoniſhment of the Engliſh, who made no reſiſtance, but haſtened

haſtened to the fortreſs, though not with celerity enough to ſave fifty Seapoys, an Indian captain, and an European ſerjeant, who were cut off in their retreat: theſe were inſtantly ſtripped, as were alſo the inhabitants, who were but few in number, the more opulent having retired before the Engliſh beſieged the place.

It was not without difficulty that the town was cleared of theſe pillagers, who were ſlain in the houſes and ſtreets by the cannon of the fortreſs.

In the night after the attack a battery of twenty pieces of cannon, of eighteen and twenty-four pounds, was conſtructed, which announced itſelf at ſix in the morning by a full diſcharge, all the embraſures being unmaſked at once. The conſtruction of this battery was facilitated by a wall of earth belonging to a large houſe on an elevated ground, which the Engliſh had left ſtanding after burning its roof. It is to be obſerved, that there is no trouble, in Ayder's army, to make platforms of wood for the batteries; the earth is ſufficiently ſolid, and nothing is to be feared from rain

rain during the fine ſeaſon: the pieces are always mounted on their carriages, and conſequently ready to be placed in battery; the carriages are very ſolid, and the fellies of the wheels very broad, ſo that they do not cut into the earth. It muſt likewiſe be owned, that in ſieges of no great conſequence, as well to ſatisfy the impatience of Ayder as to quiet the murmurs of the gunners, and deceive the enemy, the pioneers often give the earth an appearance only of ſolidity: but, what will appear moſt aſtoniſhing, and perhaps incredible, is, that the battery was partly conſtructed with the ſame gabions employed in the battery made uſe of by General Smith, which was ſtill in good condition, and ready to have mounted cannon, if it had not been judged proper to place another to better advantage. The Engliſh commandant had raiſed two cavaliers of earth upon the baſtions that fired on the battery, from whence he plunged with four ſmall pieces of cannon, which killed and wounded many men, excluſive of thoſe who ſuffered from the muſquetry; the battery not being more than ſeventy paces from the body

body of the place: but the officer of Ayder, who conducted the attack, recollecting that the ancient Flibuſtiers took places without any other fire-arms than their buccaneers, which are long muſquets of a large caliber, cauſed about two hundred of them, with their guns, to place themſelves in proper poſitions behind ſome ruins. We have already obſerved that they are excellent markſmen; and their fire was ſo well directed, that in leſs than an hour it ſilenced that of the ramparts and cavaliers: ten or twelve cannoniers and a number of Seapoys were killed the firſt diſcharge; ſo that in a ſhort time it became impoſſible for their officers to compel them to appear on the rampart: every diſcharge of a great gun from the place coſt at leaſt a cannonier, who was either killed or rendered incapable of fighting. It was this deſtructive fire that *, according to the account of the Engliſh, compelled them to hoiſt the white flag at nine in the morning, after three hours cannonade at moſt, without any breach, except a few ſtones

* This is exactly conformable to the account given by the Engliſh themſelves.

that began to be looſened. Ayder was ſo ſurpriſed that he could not perſuade himſelf of the truth of the fact, but went out of his tent to a riſing ground to ſee the flag: beſtowing a diſgraceful appellation on the Engliſh, he ordered the commanding officer, who had waited on him for inſtructions concerning the capitulation, to refuſe nothing that might be demanded.

In conſequence of this, captain M..... obtained, that himſelf and his troops ſhould march out with the honours of war: that the Europeans ſhould retire to Madras by the way of Tripetour, Vailour, and Arcot: that the Seapoys ſhould be at liberty to go where they pleaſed, or to enliſt in the army of Ayder; which they almoſt all did, as well as the horſemen: that all the officers and ſoldiers ſhould carry away what belonged to them; but that the arms, ammunition, ſtores, horſes, and every thing belonging either to the king of England, the Eaſt India Company, or Mehemet Ali Khan, ſhould be faithfully put into the hands of Ayder. Captain M..... obſerving the facility with which Ayder allowed all

all his demands, was not afraid to aſk payment for the proviſions, which he ſaid he had purchaſed with his own money, and was not ſure of being repaid by the governor of Madras: this propoſition was ſo much the more abſurd, as all theſe proviſions had been taken by force from the inhabitants of the country; which, however, did not prevent the Engliſh adminiſtration from paying him the value: beſides which, as a recompence for his brave defence, the command of the garriſon of Madras was beſtowed on him. This facility of Ayder to ſuffer the Engliſh to enjoy the fruit * of their rapines, has apparently ſerved greatly to facilitate the capture of places.

Ayder having cauſed the Engliſh garriſon to evacuate the place, the day after the cap-

* It appears, that in the preſent war Ayder finds much more difficulty in taking places; which perhaps may ariſe from the artillery being neither ſo numerous nor ſo well ſerved, or from the preſence of General Coote, who, after the former war, was ſent to India as commiſſary, and cauſed ſome officers to be puniſhed. This cannot, however, be decided ſo far from the ſcene of action.

ture of Caveripatnam, marched his army the following day about two in the morning: at noon he pitched his camp on the banks of the Paler, where the camp remaining under the guard of the irregular troops, the army paſſed the river, and reſumed their march in ſeveral columns, with the cavalry at their head, followed by the grenadiers and artillery, the reſt of the infantry forming the rear.

The army marched in this order till ten at night, at which time they reſted about two hours in fields of carbi, a kind of pulſe that horſes and cattle are very deſirous of, and which they were ſuffered to eat at pleaſure. At midnight the moon roſe, and the army proceeded; and at the break of day the huſſars and European dragoons joined the cavalry of Moctum, that was diſperſed in the woods at a ſmall diſtance from the Engliſh camp. This cavalry had been ſeven days in the open air, without tents or baggage, and Moctum fared like the reſt. It may be ſeen from this circumſtance, how far Ayder's troops are from being infected with that want of hardineſs the Indians have been ſo continually

tinually reproached with. The five thouſand grenadiers, as well as the artillery that followed the cavalry, arrived at the ſame time, having traverſed ſeventeen leagues in a march of twenty-eight hours, without taking more than four hours reſt: the fatigue theſe grenadiers had been ſubjected to, in the exerciſes and evolutions at their formation, had put them into a condition of making ſuch long and extraordinary marches. The reſt of the infantry remained in the fields of carbi, and did not begin their march till day-break.

It may, with juſtice, be a ſubject of admiration, that ſo numerous a train of artillery, drawn by oxen, could follow the troops with ſuch rapidity. This ſurpriſe will vaniſh, when it is known, that the oxen of India are very ſtrong; and that thoſe who are practiſed in drawing almoſt always go on a full trot: it is alſo known, how ſure-footed this animal is: the elephants aſſiſted in caſes of need, and a multitude of pioneers, that went before the artillery, made the roads practicable, and even eaſy.

General

General Smith, as we have already obſerved, ſuppoſed he might remain without moleſtation in his camp at Singueman, till the arrival of Colonel Wood; being perſuaded that Caveripatnam would hold out at leaſt as long againſt Ayder as it did againſt himſelf: but Ayder, who he believed to be at Caveripatnam, was already cloſe upon him with his cavalry, his artillery, and his beſt infantry. Moctum had diſtributed his cavalry and Caleros with ſuch judgment, that they poſſeſſed all the avenues to the Engliſh camp. It was Ayder's project, when the reſt of his infantry ſhould arrive, to convey his forces to a ſmall plain between Singueman and Tirnmaly, and to take his poſt on the banks of a ſmall river, of conſiderable depth, that General Smith would be under the neceſſity of paſſing in his way to Tirnmaly. By this poſition, Ayder would have prevented the junction of the two Engliſh armies, which muſt have thrown General Smith into the utmoſt embarraſſment; becauſe it would have ſubjected him to the neceſſity of taking the road through Tripetour, Arni, and

Arcot, and of traverſing plains where he muſt have fought to diſadvantage, on account of the numerous cavalry of his enemies.

But, contrary to expectation, Rocum Daulla arrived about ten in the morning, at the head of a large body of cavalry, announcing his arrival by the grand timbals, doubtleſs for the purpoſe of adviſing the Engliſh; beſides which, after his junction with Ayder, he ſent advice of the capture of Caveripatnam, and the arrival of the army in the environs of the camp. This is confirmed beyond contradiction by the manœuvre of the Engliſh, who raiſed their camp a little before noon. On the advice of this, Ayder mounted all his cavalry, and the infantry repaired to arms. The huſſars and dragoons having orders to iſſue out of the wood, and ſhew themſelves to the Engliſh army, found them in full march in a ſingle column, coaſting the river, and covering their baggages: their cavalry was at the head and rear of the column, and appeared deſirous of gaining a hill that was before them.

The

The European commandant, who had been at the head of the European cavalry to reconnoitre the Engliſh, gave advice of what he had obſerved, and of the apparent deſigns of the enemy. Ayder, in conſequence, gave orders to his grenadiers, ſupported by his cavalry, to attack the Engliſh army; commanding the reſt of his infantry likewiſe, who began to appear, to advance as quick as poſſible.

To judge of the diſadvantages under which Ayder's army fought, it will be ſufficient to conſider how much his infantry muſt have been harraſſed and fatigued by the prodigious march they had made without taking any repoſe. This did not, however, prevent the grenadiers from marching with ſuch order and firmneſs to the attack, as aſtoniſhed the Engliſh general.

The Engliſh army had gained the hill. It was compoſed of three thouſand Europeans, ten thouſand Seapoys, and two thouſand horſe: all the infantry was in a ſingle line, the Engliſh being in the centre; except ſix hundred grenadiers or volunteers, ſeparated into

two bodies, and closing the line with twenty-four pieces of cannon, that composed the whole of the English artillery. The artillery was placed in the centre and flanks of the line: every regiment had its own field-pieces. The cavalry, divided into two bodies, was at the front and rear of the baggage; it formed the two sides of a triangle, of which the infantry constituted the third; whose fire, as well as that of the artillery, would have flanked any cavalry that might have attacked them. The slope of the hill was gentle, but it was covered with underwood that impeded the march of those Indian battalions who approached to attack the English. Notwithstanding this obstacle, they advanced to the distance of twenty-five paces, and fought many hours without losing ground, in spite of the enemy's musquetry and cannon; giving the rest of the infantry time to come up, though not with the same courage and ardour as the grenadiers; except eight or nine hundred volunteers from the different corps, who, led on by the European serjeants, attacked the left of the English line, and took two pieces of cannon. But

a body

a body of Engliſh, immediately ſent to aſſiſt, repulſed them, and recovered the cannon, a little before night; which alone put an end to the firing on both ſides: the two armies reſting on the field, as if intending to continue the action. The diſadvantages under which Ayder's infantry fought in this battle, and the good conduct of his grenadiers, muſt appear ſurpriſing to Europeans, who are accuſtomed to entertain a bad opinion of the bravery of the Indians: it appeared ſo to General Smith, who ſpeaks in high terms of them, as well as of the European officers that commanded them. But to ſay the truth, this infantry was ſuſtained by ſixty pieces of large cannon, pointed by able gunners, who made great ravages among the Engliſh infantry, that was uncovered from head to foot; while the Engliſh artillery did little injury to Ayder's infantry, on account of the difficulty of aiming well in pointing downwards. This difference of advantage compenſated, in ſome reſpect, for the advantage of poſition, and in the number of muſquets, that were more than double thoſe of the grena-

diers, before they were joined by the reſt of the infantry.

In this battle Ayder loſt nine hundred of his grenadiers; a loſs ſo much the more conſiderable, as they were brave men, accuſtomed to fatigue, and who never gave way. The Bacſi, or miniſter of war, who has the right of marching at the head of the infantry, though he does not command them, was killed by a cannon-ball: and the cavalry, which was of no uſe in this day's ſervice, nevertheleſs loſt ſome men and horſes, the Engliſh artillery having good play among ſo numerous a troop.

It was perceived, about eleven at night, that the Engliſh retired in ſilence. Ayder gave orders to his troops not to attempt to moleſt them, the cavalry not being able to attack the Engliſh infantry in the night; and he was deſirous of giving ſome repoſe to his infantry, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and had need of reſt.

Before day-break, the cavalry, headed by the huſſars and dragoons, ſet out in purſuit of the Engliſh army, who had abandoned their baggage

baggage for the ſake of carrying off their wounded. General Smith himſelf ſet the example: the dragoons finding part of his kitchen utenſils, and two valuable trunks belonging to Major Bonjour, a Genevan officer, eſteemed by the Engliſh, and who did the duty of major-general of their army,—theſe baggages afforded the huſſars and dragoons excellent plunder. In order more effectually to ſecure a conveyance for their wounded, the Engliſh threw their ammunition and ſtores into the river, from whence the Indians recovered the balls and ſacks of rice; and, in order to conceal their loſs, they buried their dead: but the night, and their haſte, cauſed them to perform this duty with ſo little care, that the bodies were many of them partly uncovered. The avidity of the ſoldiers for plunder, when it is permitted, induced them to dig up the dead, in order to get the clothes they were wrapped in.

In ſpite of the haſte employed by Ayder's cavalry in purſuit of the Engliſh, they gained Tirnmaly, with no other loſs than two ſmall iron three-pounders they themſelves left be-

hind; and there was only one ſkirmiſh in ſight of Tirnmaly, between the grenadiers, who formed the rear-guard of the Engliſh, and the huſſars and dragoons, one of whom only was wounded. Thus it was that General Smith eſcaped the riſque he would have run, if Ayder, with his army, could have taken his poſt beyond the river, as he had projected.

All the irregular troops had been left in the camp at Paler; becauſe this kind of troops being without diſcipline, it would have been difficult to have kept them out of ſight of the Engliſh; and becauſe the enemy's ſpies are generally of this body of troops.

Ayder, elated with the glory of having cauſed the Engliſh to fly before him, advanced, and encamped a league and a half from Tirnmaly, in a place full of large rocks, and ſeparated from Tirnmaly by a plain; and, as he was encamped very near the enemy, to whoſe method of beating the Indians by attacks in the night he was no ſtranger, he took every precaution that could be required to ſecure his camp from any ſurprize.

A large

A large opening between theſe rocks, that might have been taken for a work of art, and behind which his camp was ſituated, was fortified by a redoubt. All the heights were occupied by guards, whoſe centinels continually called *Cabordor!* which ſignifies *Take care of yourſelf!* Guards of cavalry and Caleros were diſpatched cloſe to Tirnmaly, with rockets to make ſignals; ſo that the Engliſh could make no movement to attack the camp of Ayder, without his being immediately adviſed. But General Smith had no intention to run any riſque till Colonel Wood ſhould join him with his army, which had been augmented, and was eight or nine thouſand ſtrong, excluſive of a body of Caleros from Tanjaor.

Ayder, who ought to have ſent a ſtrong detachment, or the whole of his army, to prevent this junction, ſuffered it to take place, in ſpite of all the advice that was given him on the ſubject. He continued to keep his army collected, and to make war in a country where his cavalry was almoſt entirely uſeleſs; eſpecially while General Smith remained in his camp at Tirnmaly,

maly, ſituated between two mountains on which there are fortreſſes; having his van covered by the town, and a tank, where no force could arrive but through narrow paſſes, defended by retrenchments with artillery.

His hope was to draw his enemy out of their camp. For this purpoſe he cauſed his infantry to make a kind of parade every day; ſometimes coming within reach of the artillery with all his troops, and at other times with his infantry alone. He loſt his time ſo effectually, that Colonel Wood joined his forces to thoſe of General Smith.

Notwithſtanding this junction, which made the Engliſh army amount to above five-and-twenty thouſand good troops, four thouſand five hundred being Europeans, General Smith did not think proper to expoſe himſelf in the plain againſt Ayder; but, to give him an opportunity of attacking him in a country the moſt favourable to his infantry, he quitted his camp at Tirnmaly, and marching to the left at day break, he pitched *another camp two leagues from Tirnmaly, that his army might be leſs confined.*

Ayder,

Ayder, informed of the deſign of the Engliſh general, was deſirous of laying a ſnare for him, that he communicated to no one, and which might have been attended with fatal conſequences. The fact is this: The Engliſh army had to paſs through a plain, bounded on all ſides by woods and ſmall eminences: Ayder gave orders, in the evening, to the chiefs of his artillery and infantry, to march into this plain at the dawn of day; entering it by a kind of valley that enlarged itſelf into the flat ground. He himſelf, in conſequence of his project, departed at two in the morning with all his cavalry, which, by a very large circuit, he conducted into the cloſe places that bordered the plain. They who commanded his infantry being apprized of his departure, began their march at the appointed hour; not doubting but that they ſhould either find the cavalry at the plain, or receive orders relative to their diſpoſition. They were highly aſtoniſhed, on their arrival, not to ſee a ſingle horſeman, nor any other troops whatſoever. In proportion as the entrance grew larger, the infantry extended their front, and drew themſelves into order

order of battle. The plain, though to appearance even, was divided in two by a riſing ground. Some officers, who went before, were aſtoniſhed, on mounting the eminence, to find the Engliſh army drawn up in order of battle behind it. As there had been no orders given for attacking them, and no news had arrived of Ayder and his cavalry, a council, held haſtily on the ſpot, decided that they ſhould retire to the entrance of the valley, in order to poſt themſelves more advantageouſly; while ſcouts were diſpatched on all ſides to obtain news, and the orders of the Nabob.

The Engliſh, who had been adviſed of the ambuſcade prepared for them by Ayder, remained in order of battle till the beginning of the night, when they entered their new camp. The infantry and artillery of Ayder returned to theirs; and the prince returned very late in the night with his cavalry, much fatigued with having rode ten leagues in very bad ground, and without having taken any nouriſhment. Ayder ſuppoſed that General Smith was ignorant of the march of his cavalry; and would have been tempted to attack

his

his infantry, who apparently were not ſupported by any horſe: by which means he expected to find an opportunity of falling upon the Engliſh army with his horſe. We may eaſily imagine that things would have been conducted in another manner, if he had communicated his project.

As Tipou Saeb, who was then about ſeventeen years of age, is now the right hand of his father, and is the perſon who has had the moſt brilliant ſucceſs againſt the Engliſh,—we think it proper to mention his conduct on this occaſion. Ayder, who paſſionately loves his ſon, and is acquainted with his zeal and courage, was fearful reſpecting him on account of his very early age: for this reaſon, he uſually entruſted him with the guard of the camp, when he ſuppoſed the day would prove too fatiguing or dangerous. The young prince, being charged with the care of the camp on the preſent occaſion, was in great pain when the infantry returned, and the night cloſed in, without any news concerning his father and the cavalry. Two hours after dark, that is to ſay about eight o'clock, he ſent for all the generals,

generals, gave them a ſhort account of the ſtate of affairs, and demanded their advice. The unanimous opinion was, that the Engliſh were too weak in cavalry to make any attempt againſt the Nabob; and that they could not come to attack the camp but by marching three leagues, and paſſing through ſtraits where guards were placed. The prince replied to them, "As I have no orders from my father, I have need of your experience to direct my actions: I will wait here with patience and confidence according to your advice; and am much obliged to you for your attention and care." The whole company had not yet left the prince, when word was brought that Moctum, his uncle, ſecond commander of the army, had entered the camp, having taken the van-guard with ſome horſe.

Ayder, always indefatigable, advanced at dawn towards Tirnmaly, with four thouſand infantry and twenty pieces of cannon. The town was open to him; but while he was making the proper diſpoſition to attack the fortreſſes, he learned that General Smith was in motion to attack him. This intelligence

obliged him to return into his camp; not chuſing to fight in a poſition where his cavalry would have been of no ſervice to him.

He removed his camp the next day, becauſe he could not reach that of the Engliſh but by narrow paſſes, or by marching above ten leagues; though the camps were not above four leagues aſunder. After paſſing by the rear of Nizam Daulla's army, that had arrived two days before, and was encamped in a fine plain, he pitched his camp to the left hand of Nizam, but in advance, being then about four leagues from the Engliſh, with a plain before him, interſperſed with ſome wood and a pond that covered the left of the Engliſh camp.

The very evening that Ayder had changed his camp, the Engliſh at the cloſe of day ſtruck their tents; the news of which was quickly carried to Ayder, and obliged him to keep his men to their arms all night. But the Engliſh contented themſelves to paſs the night in the open air; and at ſun-riſe they again ſet up their tents. This manœuvre was repeated, for no poſitive reaſon that can be deduced, the four following nights, in ſpite of the frequent

ſhowers

ſhowers they were expoſed to; and Ayder, in conſequence, fortified his camp with four large redoubts.

As the Engliſh camp was always ſurrounded with cavalry and light troops, as well on foot as on horſeback, who had taken poſſeſſion of all the paſſages, they could not receive proviſion and ammunition except from Tirnmaly, where they had no other ſtores than rice. Their troops therefore ſuffered much, as Ayder was well inſtructed by the capture of patmars or couriers paſſing between the army and Madras, and likewiſe by the reports of individuals. The governor of Madras blamed Geneneral Smith for having given the ſoldiers their rations of arrack in money; ſaying that money, being ſcarce, ought to be ſparingly diſtributed, and that it would have been ſufficient to have promiſed the men their due from the council of Madras. In a letter to the paymaſter, he blamed him for having refuſed to pay the troops their money in lieu of arrack, at the orders of the general; obſerving, that no one in the army can refuſe obedience to the general, who is alone reſponſible for the conſe-

conſequences of his orders and diſpoſitions. The governor likewiſe wrote to the doctor, who was commiſſary to the army, to continue to inſtruct him of all that paſſed, &c.

This knowledge of the inconvenience ſuſtained by the Engliſh ought to have determined Ayder to continue the plan of inveſting the army, and ravaging the country. The Engliſh, impatient, no doubt, and deſirous of extricating themſelves out of their diſagreeable ſituation, either by a night attack or by removing their camp, began to march about ten at night, after having ſtruck their tents as uſual. Ayder was ſoon informed of this unexpected march, by the repeated ſignals of rockets; and a ſhort time after was apprized that their courſe was directed to the camp of Nizam Daulla.

The news was extremely embarraſſing to the Nabob. He had the beſt founded ſuſpicions of a ſecret correſpondence between Rocum Daulla and the Engliſh, and had ſufficient reaſon to believe that Nizam himſelf had not the beſt intentions towards him. If Nizam was in concert with the Engliſh, his army,

which was without defence on the ſide of his ally, was very much expoſed to danger; and on the other hand, without conſidering the probability of actual treachery, if the Engliſh ſhould attack Nizam, the little order that prevailed in his army might be dangerous to his own, where the fugitives would not fail to fly for ſhelter and protection. Having called a council in a ſmall caſemate where Ayder uſually ſlept, at the head of his camp, it was reſolved, that his army ſhould be in readineſs to march and intercept the Engliſh in their courſe to Nizam's army; which it was eaſy to do, as they had no more than a league and half of ground to paſs, whereas the Engliſh had near ſix: and that, in the mean time, the European commandant ſhould march with all the irregular troops, and thoſe diſperſed in the country, to reach the front of the Engliſh army; and, by harraſſing them, retard their march, ſo that they might not be able to reach Nizam's army before day-light.—

It was about one in the morning when this officer learned that the Engliſh army was advanced about three leagues on their way.

He

He immediately aſſembled the greater part of the chiefs of the Caleros and Carnates, and commanded them to approach as near the Engliſh army as they could; extending themſelves on their flank the whole length of the line, without fear of ſpreading themſelves too much, and not to fire till within fifteen paces; —that they might fire at pleaſure, though as quickly as poſſible, taking care every man to lie flat on the ground after making his diſcharge. This laſt piece of advice might have been ſpared; but it had its weight with them, as it was a tacit approbation of their manner of fighting. They very exactly obeyed their orders; their approach, and the great extent of ground they covered, which was known to the Engliſh by the matches of their muſquets, ſtopped the march of the Engliſh, and obliged them to call into the column the ſmall detached parties that were on their flank, no doubt for fear they ſhould be ſurrounded. The fire of the Caleros having commenced, the Engliſh, who ought to have deſpiſed them, faced about and anſwered by platoons, which made much noiſe, and did little miſchief for

the ſpace of more than two hours, the Caleros, returning their fire to the beſt of their abilities. An hour and half before day-break, the Engliſh marched to their left, and pitched another camp that was nearer Tirnmaly, which covered their right; the bank of a large pond was on their left, and before them a mountain of conſiderable height (where they placed a battalion of Seapoys) and ſurrounded with rocks and underwood, impracticable for cavalry.

After reconnoitring the Engliſh camp, Ayder raiſed his own, and took another ſtation, that was within two leagues of theirs, and ſo ſituated as to prevent the enemy from attacking the army of Nizam, without firſt engaging his own.

By the new poſition of both armies, the numerous cavalry of the two Subas became ſtill more uſeleſs and difficult to be ſupported; which induced Ayder to attend to a piece of advice that had long been given him,—to ſend a large detachment from his army to take Godelour, an Engliſh factory two leagues from Pondicherry; and to return by follow-

ing the ſea coaſt as far as Madras, whoſe environs they were to ravage and lay waſte: a ſtep that could not fail in obliging the council to recal the army for their own defence, which would have produced the greateſt diſcredit and real prejudice to the Company's affairs.

This detachment was on the point of departing, commanded by the European officer who gave the advice, and was aſſured of taking Godelour, from his intimate acquaintance with the place: but an Engliſh emiſſary, introduced into the camp of Ayder, and who had acquired the confidence of Raza Saeb, ancient Nabob of Arcot, a man of a contracted underſtanding, and much given to ſuſpicion and jealouſy, took the advantage, by means of this man, to make Ayder believe, that the whole was no more than a contrivance of the French officer to return to Pondicherry with his troop, being recalled (as it was inſidiouſly affirmed) by the governor of that place.

If the anſwer of the governor of Pondicherry to the letters of the two Nabobs had

been leſs preciſe, and had given ſome hope of aſſiſtance to them, as, ſound policy perhaps required, the impoſture of the Engliſh emiſſary would have made no impreſſion on the mind of Ayder; and the commerce of Pondicherry would, by the ruin of Godelour, have been benefited by the loſs of commerce the Engliſh would have ſuſtained.

Ayder had ſo much regard for the French officer who was to have commanded the expedition againſt Godelour, that he had cauſed Nizam Daulla, the Suba of Decan, to grant him a Zaghire, or immediate fief of the empire, without any vaſſalſhip to the Nabob of Arcot, all the country along the coaſt between the rivers of Alemparvy and Divicoty, and a line drawn from one river to the other, touching and including Paniroti. The Paravana or patent recited, that this gift was made in return for the great ſervices rendered to the empire by the ſaid officer; and that it was without any other obligation than that of maintaining two hundred Europeans for the guard of the country, whoſe revenue was eſtimated at eight lacks of rupees; with a promiſe

promiſe of enlargement of the territory, if it ſhould prove leſs. Ayder, and his ſon, as Nabob of Arcot, had confirmed and ratified this donation.

The French officer, who was firmly perſuaded that the Engliſh and Mehemet Ali Khan would loſe all the Nabobſhip of Arcot in this war, thought it expedient to profit by the favour of Ayder, by obtaining a gift that would be ſo uſeful to his country. He did not wait till conqueſt had put that Nabob in poſſeſſion of the territory; preſuming, perhaps with reaſon, that he might not then be ſo generous. The inveſtiture, which ought to have been a ſecret in the cabinet, was made public by the ſecretaries of Rocum Daulla, Divan and keeper of the great ſeal, who came in ceremony to compliment the officer, and receive his preſent on the occaſion. This gift excited the jealouſy of Raza Saeb and ſome others, and was doubtleſs one of the inducements that led Ayder to ſuſpect the French officer.

But, whatever may have been the cauſe, there is no doubt that Ayder was fearful of

ſuffering his Europeans to approach too near Pondicherry. He therefore informed the French officer, that, as he could not then ſpare any infantry, it would be proper to defer the capture of Godelour till another opportunity; but that he would diſpatch a body of cavalry to deſtroy the country cloſe up to the gates of Madras; "and as it is no more than a kind of courſe," ſaid he, "and my ſon has never yet had any command, it will be doing him a great pleaſure to give him charge of this operation, at the head of five thouſand horſe." It may, perhaps, ſeem ſurpriſing that Ayder ſhould uſe ſo much addreſs to make this officer acquieſce with a good grace in the ſubſtituting another general to the command of a detachment that had been promiſed him; but no prince can poſſeſs to greater advantage the art of ſoftening his refuſal; ſo that he never appears to deny any thing. In conſequence of this conference, the young prince departed with his detachment; and advanced with ſo much ſpeed and ſecrecy towards Madras, that the governor, Mehemet Ali Khan and his ſon, together with Colonel Call, and almoſt all the

the council, very narrowly escaped being taken in the country-house at the Company's garden. Happily for them a small vessel, that by accident was opposite the garden, furnished them with the means of escaping, which otherwise would have been impossible. Their flight was so precipitate, that the governor did not stay for his hat and sword, which were taken by the soldiery, as well as the breakfast equipage; it being the custom at Madras to take the air every morning, and breakfast in the country. The governor and his company would infallibly have been made prisoners, if a domestic of their French emissary in Ayder's camp, sent expressly to apprize them of the incursion, had not arrived the very moment they were preparing to take their usual ride. The cavalry of Ayder arrived full speed, and cut off their return to Madras: Mehemet Ali Khan, who alone took the high road, escaped being taken only by the goodness of his horse. If the governor had had the misfortune to have been taken, his own vanity and presumption would have been the cause: for his company had scarcely met, before a crowd

crowd of the country people ran paſt towards Fort St. George, crying *Maratta! Maratta!* the people of the coaſt never having, before the preſent war, experienced any incurſions except from that nation. The governor and other Engliſh, inſtead of paying any attention to the cries of the fugitives, were much diverted with the circumſtance. A ſecond troop paſſing by, and ſome of the company obſerving that the buſineſs deſerved attention, the governor anſwered, "The enemy's cavalry cannot arrive here without firſt paſſing by fortreſſes where we have garriſons, whoſe commandants would ſend me advice: the terror of theſe people is certainly a panic; and to put an end to it, I will order the Chaubuc * to the next that come to alarm us in this manner." Every body applauded his diſcourſe, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom

* The Chaubuc is a long ſtrap of leather at the end of a ſtick, with which the Indians are chaſtiſed without much ceremony. The governor and counſellors of Madras have always Chaubuckers before their palanquins, ready to exerciſe this act of juſtice, if it deſerves the name.

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of crying *Amen* to what is ſaid by men in power. But in the inſtant arrived a crowd from St. Thomas*, many of whom were wounded; they announced that the enemy were plundering that town. The whole company was ſeized with fear, and had juſt time

* The town of St. Thomas is ſuppoſed to belong to the Portugueſe, and the colours of that nation are ſtill diſplayed at the place. The biſhop takes the title of governor. It is entirely open, and the Engliſh do not ſcruple to keep Seapoys in garriſon there. The governor of Madras often ſends for the biſhop, as if he were at his orders; and his houſe and church are occaſionally ſearched, without any reſpect of places. Having received orders from his court to expel the Jeſuits, they have remained in their convent, under the protection of the Engliſh, preſerving their habit, and exerciſing their functions, in ſpite of the interdiction. This poor biſhop is ſo much the ſlave of the Engliſh, that, notwithſtanding the ill treatment he receives, they compel him to give a Portugueſe paſsport to an Engliſh veſſel that trades every year from Madras to the Manillas, where it is received by virtue of the falſe paſſport of the Portugueſe governor, who is acknowledged by the Engliſh merely for their own convenience.

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to ſave themſelves by the ſea-coaſt, in conſequence of the advice ſo luckily given them.

While Tipou Saeb ravaged the environs of Madras, his father reconnoitred the Engliſh camp; which it was eaſy for him to do, without danger, from a plain on the top of a hill that commanded a view of the rocks and underwood we have deſcribed. The Nabob perceived that he could annoy a part of their camp with large cannon; and having taken his reſolution, he cauſed his army to march the next day early, and conveying ſome large pieces of cannon to the top of the hill, he cauſed them to be pointed at the Engliſh camp, where they carried admirably well, and occaſioned a kind of diſorder and haſte in ſtriking and removing tents, &c. Ayder, delighted at having thus inſulted the Engliſh, cauſed all his artillery, even the very ſmalleſt pieces, to be drawn up the hill for the purpoſe of making a vain parade, though the greater part of the balls could never reach the Engliſh: he imagined he ſhould give the enemy a high idea of his forces, and intimidate them by ſhewing them all this artillery, and the vivacity

vacity and ſpirit it was worked with; and, in order that his intention might be anſwered, he encouraged the ſoldiers himſelf, by giving money to the cannoniers of thoſe pieces that appeared to be beſt ſerved:—all which was matter of deriſion and laughter to the Engliſh; and in reality anſwered no other purpoſe, than that of frightening the feathered inhabitants of the underwood that grew on the hill-ſide.

While Ayder thus exerciſed his artillery, and kept his infantry in parade, his cavalry gallopped about the plain to almoſt as little effect as the diſcharge of the greateſt part of his artillery. Nizam, who did not think proper on this occaſion to be an idle ſpectator, had marched with his army, nearly at the ſame time as his ally, and cauſed his cavalry to parade round the Engliſh camp: but about three in the afternoon, with his whole infantry, he attacked the Seapoys that General Smith had poſted on the mountain. To defend themſelves againſt this attack, the Seapoys were obliged to take poſitions that expoſed them to the artillery of Ayder: ſeeing themſelves obliged to give way, they made

made ſeveral ſignals to General Smith, who marched to their aſſiſtance with his whole army. It was near four in the evening, when his columns were obſerved to march out. Ayder immediately cauſed his artillery and infantry to deſcend from the hill, and recalled his cavalry, in order to face the Engliſh with his whole force. His troops were ſcarcely drawn up, in order to march, before the whole infantry of Nizam was ſeen in the moſt precipitate flight and diſorder; while his cavalry appeared to advance bravely and in good order againſt the Engliſh, followed by his artillery: but inſtead of extending itſelf in the plain, to the left of Ayder, the troop placed itſelf between the Engliſh and his army, ſo as entirely to maſk it from their ſight. The Engliſh advanced along the banks of the pond near the mountain, marching on ground covered with ſtones and ſhrubs *, whoſe

* The ſhrub that grows in all this part of India, and in all the uncultivated lands, is of the greateſt utility. Its wood, leaves, and flower, diſtil a kind of ſyrup, which the great heat, I imagine, prevents from

whoſe branches being very flexible, are no great inconvenience for infantry. They were formed into two columns, having their cavalry in their rear, and their artillery in front, which firing on the cavalry, cauſed them to give way, and in a ſhort time put them to flight full ſpeed by the ſhorteſt way, which happened to be through the camp of Ayder, acroſs which they drove, ſpreading terror and diſorder as they went. Ayder perceiving the flight of Nizam and all his army, found himſelf exceedingly embarraſſed, as he had every reaſon to ſuſpect ſome treachery: he was likewiſe apprehenſive, that, while he fought with the Engliſh, his camp would be plundered by the fugitives: and the approach of night added to the trouble that employed his thoughts.

When the diſperſion of Nizam's army had left the Engliſh army uncovered, it was ſeen

from forming into lumps, like honey. It is with this ſhrub that the diſtillers, who follow the Indian camps, make their arrack, by adding more or leſs ſugar, according to the ſeaſon.

advancing in one full line, with the cavalry in reſerve. The artillery of Ayder, diſtributed along the front of his infantry, made a few diſcharges, which muſt have ſlain a number of the enemy; but as the ridiculous cannonade from the top of the hill had exhauſted his ammunition, his great guns ſoon became uſeleſs to him: the cavalry that formed the two wings having received orders to charge, the right wing, where the huſſars and dragoons were, made ſeveral charges, and advanced within piſtol-ſhot; but could never ſtand againſt the fire of the Engliſh artillery and muſquetry. The left wing, for ſome unknown reaſon, made only one charge, and afterwards kept at a ſufficient diſtance from the fire. Ayder ſeeing very little hope of beating the Engliſh, who had the advantage of artillery, and the night cloſing in being in favour of their infantry, yielded the field of battle, and retreated in good order; the Nabob himſelf forming the rear-guard at the head of his cavalry. He withdrew his army into their camp, without leaving the Engliſh any mark of their victory, except one of the iron

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three-pounders they themſelves had loſt before, whoſe oxen were killed, and might have been eaſily replaced by the oxen from the empty ammunition waggons, if Ayder would have conſented. The Engliſh made no priſoners, except a Portugueſe officer of the Topaſſes, who, being wounded, was given to be carried by four of his ſoldiers, and thrown by them into a ditch; and a Pandari, who was likewiſe wounded: all the other wounded were brought off. The number of killed in the army of the two Subas, did not exceed four hundred men. The Engliſh followed Ayder to his camp; but his ſituation between two mountains, a large pond, and two redoubts, between which they muſt have paſſed, prevented them from thinking of the attack. They contented themſelves with firing ſome cannon acroſs the pond, none of which reached the camp; and paſſed the night in the open air, a good cannon ſhot diſtant from the redoubts.

Upon the arrival of Ayder in his camp, he found it in confuſion; the greater part of the ſervants and other people in the ſuite of the

army, terrified at the flight of Nizam and his troops, having ran off, leaving the camp all ſtanding. After placing his infantry in the redoubts, and behind a retrenchment haſtily thrown up, he ordered all his heavy artillery and baggage to march: the execution of this order was attended with great difficulty. Ayder has a particular talent in chuſing places where his camp can be in ſecurity, as well from the nature of the ground, as from the defences that art can add; in which particular he has gained the praiſes of General Smith, who himſelf poſſeſſes this talent in a ſuperior degree. The continual wars of Ayder with the Marattas, who are far ſuperior to him in cavalry, have no doubt obliged him to make a particular ſtudy of the art of encamping in advantageous poſitions, which are without number in his dominions; all the country being interſected by mountains and vallies, and covered with towns, fortreſſes, ponds, and woods. But he has the fault of not projecting eaſy ſorties to his camps; though the inconveniencies have been often repreſented to him, eſpecially on the

occaſion of the retreat after the battle of Tirnmaly; his camp having no other way out behind, but by a paſs filled with rocks and underwood, through which was a winding, narrow road, ſcarcely practicable for a ſingle carriage. This road was very ſoon choaked up by the number of beaſts of burthen, whoſe owners had anticipated the order for raiſing the camp. The paſs was divided into two, one leading to the camp of Nizam: all the baggage marched at their own diſcretion; a conſiderable number took the right hand road, and croſſed the immenſe baggages of Nizam's army, that marched in the greateſt diſorder, intermixed with artillery. The conſequence of all this diſorder was, a ſtoppage, that prevented the march of Ayder's artillery, in ſpite of all the pains that were taken to get forward by the light of more than a hundred torches*; for, as they com-

* Theſe torches muſt appear very extraordinary in Europe, on account of the many riſques they muſt be productive of: but the Indians have not yet been induced to ſubmit to reaſon, with regard to their imprudent uſe of torches and fires.

pelled the loaded beaſts to walk on the borders of the road, they fell and overthrew their burthens; which occaſioned cries and a dreadful tumult, the noiſe being repeated by the mountains: ſo that nothing better could be done, than to diſpatch ſome troops to ſtop the march, and give orders for every one to remain where he was till morning. When the day appeared, regularity was ſoon reſtored, as Nizam's army was already in the plain. If General Smith had detached a ſmall party of his infantry, by a circuit of two leagues, they might have entered the camp of Nizam; and by a few ſhot among the fugitives and conductors of baggage, they might have occaſioned ſo much diſorder, as would have rendered the conſequences of the victory of the greateſt importance: for, though he met with no moleſtation after his defeat, he left ſeven or eight pieces of large cannon in his camp *: Ayder cauſed the

* The Engliſh have publiſhed, that they took many pieces of cannon belonging to Nizam on the day

the carriages to be repaired, and ſent them to him with the harneſs. Even the ſilver plate, and other valuable effects of Nizam, were found in the roads.

Ayder, inſtead of imitating the cowardice of Nizam, appeared at day-break, with his troops drawn up in order of battle, at the entrance of his camp: all his infantry being in the firſt line, and part of his cavalry in the ſecond. In this poſition he made the Engliſh reſpect him. When his artillery and baggage had gained the plain, he retired with his army, himſelf forming the rear-guard with his grenadiers, who did not quit that poſt of honour to the cavalry, till after the whole army had reached the plain. The Engliſh, who followed them, durſt not make any attack, but fired a few cannon, which

day of battle, which they afterwards returned when they made an accommodation with them. There are ſtrong reaſons for doubting this fact; becauſe theſe pieces were not conducted in triumph to Madras, where they would have been exhibited, if it were for no other reaſon than becauſe they were ornamented with fleurs de lis.

ſlew four men, including a quarter-maſter of dragoons, who was ſtruck by the laſt rebound of a ball *.

It will readily be ſuppoſed, that General Smith haſtened to forward the news of this victory to Madras, which extricated the government of that ſettlement out of the moſt tormenting embarraſſment. The unexpected incurſion of Ayder's ſon had thrown them into the greateſt conſternation: the garriſon of Fort St. George conſiſted only of two hundred Europeans, and ſix hundred Seapoys; ſo that the Black Town, which is properly the town of Madras, was at the diſcretion of Tippou Saeb, a youth of eighteen. This town contains a great number of inhabitants, not leſs than four hundred thouſand, according to the Engliſh valuation; and their num-

* The contraſt of Ayder's army with that of Nizam, both in the battle and retreat, may ſerve to ſhew what kind of armies thoſe were that were beat by a ſmall number of Europeans; and likewiſe what the Engliſh and other Europeans, who flatter themſelves with conqueſts in India, may expect in future.

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ber was then vaſtly augmented by the fugitives from the country. Though it bears the name of the Black Town, it is inhabited by great numbers of Europeans of all nations, who have warehouſes furniſhed with the richeſt products of every country. Among others, there is a large colony of very rich Armenians, poſſeſſed of immenſe riches; and great numbers of Guzerats, or wealthy bankers, dealers in pearls, precious ſtones, and coral: in ſhort, this town is always one of the richeſt emporiums in the world, and was then defended only by a wall of earth breaſt-high, and entirely without any troops whatever.

The terror that ſpread itſelf among this immenſe people, when they ſaw the fugitives from the country enter, was ſo great, that they imagined the whole army of Ayder, headed by himſelf in perſon, was on the point of entering the town. Men, women, and children all ran to take refuge in Fort St. George, abandoning their houſes and all they poſſeſſed. As the governor, counſellors, commandant, &c. were not yet arrived, no one gave orders to ſhut the gates; ſo that in

a ſhort time the fort was crowded with a multitude of people, that filled the ſtreets, the ditches, and even covered the glacis. The governor, on his arrival, could with difficulty force a paſſage to his houſe; where he entirely loſt all fortitude, and remained two days with his head reſting on a table, ſuffering Colonel Call, the chief engineer, and a man of abilities, to take the charge of every thing. This gentleman did his utmoſt; but has ſince confeſſed, that if Ayder's ſon had entered the Black Town, and purſued the fugitives, nothing could have prevented his taking Fort St. George. But this young prince was without experience; and his cavalry having approached the Black Town by the road from St. Thomas, paſſed of neceſſity under the cannon of the fort, a few diſcharges of which ſerved to impoſe on him. Tippou Saeb convened a council, where the advice of the grand almoner *, who had been ſent with him in

* This grand almoner was the friend of Ayder.—He will be mentioned in the portraits of the great men,

in quality of Mentor, was, that it was not proper to run the riſque of entering the Black Town: but that the orders of Ayder ought ſtrictly to be followed, namely, to ravage the environs of Madras: and more particularly, not to hazard the life of the prince by expoſing him to the cannon of Fort St. George, or any other fortreſs. Every one was obliged to ſubmit to this opinion, which, it may be affirmed, was the cauſe of ſaving the Engliſh, and other inhabitants of Madras, the ſum of more than one hundred millions of French money, that might have been loſt to them by burning the Black Town, or forcing the governor and council to accept of peace on the hardeſt terms, by threatening them with this conſequence.

The Author of theſe Memoirs had adviſed Ayder to beſiege and take the Black Town of Madras, and to burn it; though he did not

men, and eſpecially the friends and confidents of Ayder. Nothing can ſerve more effectually to diſplay the true character of a prince, than accurate portraits of the people that enjoy his favour.

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imagine the thing to be ſo eaſy; yet his advice was partly the cauſe why he did not accompany the young prince, for fear of expoſing him; and it is this advice alone that was the ground of the perſecutions of Governor B.... againſt him, as well as the foundation of a legal proceſs, in which no other evidence was brought than that of the Engliſh ſpies, who affirmed that they heard him give it. But this proceeding, contrary to every notion of juſtice and the laws of nations, was an ordinary act of that deſpotiſm the Engliſh have arrogated and exerciſed in India.

Though the town of Madras ſuffered no damage, becauſe Colonel Call, having armed all the Europeans he could collect, diſpatched ſome Seapoys and volunteers to defend the entrance of the Black Town, who prevented the pillagers from approaching; yet the damage ſuſtained by the Engliſh was, nevertheleſs, very conſiderable. They have ſuperb houſes in the neighbourhood of Madras, richly furniſhed: and all the villages, which are very numerous and full of people, are inhabited by painters and manufacturers of every kind, who were

were all pillaged, or affirmed they were in order to take advantage of not reſtoring the works that were entruſted in their hands, or paid for in advance. An Engliſh merchant, named *Debonnaire*, of French extraction, was the only one of the inhabitants of Madras who did not ſuffer by the ravages made by Ayder's troops round that city: not by way of gratitude for the ſervices he had done Maſſous Khan, the friend of Ayder; but by the effect of chance, which led Caki Saib, grand almoner of Ayder, and his real friend, to fix his reſidence in the country houſe of this merchant, which was ſituated at St. Thomas's Mount, a league and half from Madras. On the appearance of Ayder's cavalry ſeen from the mount, the ſervants of Mr. Debonnaire made their eſcape, with his children; leaving all the moveables and effects to the mercy of the enemy. The ſituation of the houſe was agreeable to Caki Saib, who choſe it for his reſidence during the time Tippou Saeb remained in the environs of Madras. On his entering the houſe, he told the gardeners that he was a man of peace, and that his preſence would

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ſecure the houſe from inſult. He forbade his people either to take or ſpoil the ſmalleſt thing; and having aſſured himſelf that his orders were not infringed, he enquired the name of the proprietor, and ſent one of his gardeners, accompanied by one of his own people, to carry him his children's clothes, with fruits and herbs; aſſuring him that nothing in his houſe ſhould be either damaged or ſtolen, but that he himſelf would overlook the gardeners, and ſee they did their duty; and would take care to ſend him the neceſſary produce of his garden every day, which he punctually performed. The young prince, in a viſit to the grand almoner, was deſirous of taking a microſope; but that nobleman would not conſent, but wrote to Mr. Debonnaire to ſet a price upon the inſtrument; and it was not till he had received the merchant's ſecond letter, that he conſented to offer it as a preſent, on his part, to the ſon of Ayder.

The fugitives from the environs of Madras having ſpread themſelves all over the coaſt, carried the news of the capture of that town by Ayder Ali Khan; and it came to Europe

by the way of Pondicherry, Tranquebar, and the other European ſettlements. The caravans, and every poſſible conveyance, diſtributed this news with pleaſure; for the jealouſy and hatred that other nations have conceived againſt the Engliſh, ſmothered the account they themſelves had given of their victory at Tirnmaly. The conſequence was, that the price of the Company's ſtock, at London, fell at once from 275 to 222. General Smith, to convey the news of his victory with readineſs and expedition to Madras, diſpatched a courier mounted on a dromedary, who, inſtead of avoiding the troops of Ayder, addreſſed himſelf to them, to demand news of the Schazade, or king's ſon, ſaying, that he was charged by his father to inform him of the loſs of the battle at Tirnmaly, and to order him to rejoin him. By means of this ſtratagem he ſucceeded in gaining acceſs to the town of Madras, though the ſon of Ayder was not above half a league diſtant. The governor, on receipt of General Smith's letters, announced the victory to the people by one hundred and one guns; and diſtributed

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the moſt exaggerated accounts of the advantages gained over Ayder.

The young prince, aſtoniſhed at ſo unexpected an event, conſulted his council, who unanimouſly adviſed him to rejoin the armies of the Subas as early as poſſible; which he executed in good order, carrying with him four monks, and a prieſt, grand vicar of the biſhop of St. Thomas, who was then at Pondicherry. On the reputation of Ayder's lenity, theſe prieſts did not think proper to follow the example of the other inhabitants of St. Thomas, by abandoning their habitations. But as Ayder had recommended to his ſon to bring away ſome perſon of diſtinction, who might inſtruct him concerning the forces of the Engliſh, and the ſuccours they expected from Europe or elſewhere,—for want of more important perſonages, he engaged theſe monks to accompany him; and conducted them with all poſſible care and attention, though by a diſagreeable carriage; having cauſed them to mount two and two on the backs of camels, a beaſt whoſe pace is very fatiguing. Their journey

journey having laſted five days, they arrived worn out with fatigue, and in the moſt deplorable condition; eſpecially the Jeſuits, who wore their ſquare bonnets, and who, to retain this head-dreſs, and at the ſame time to defend themſelves from the heat of the ſun, had been under the neceſſity of wrapping their heads in painted ſilks given them for that purpoſe.

The battle of Tirnmaly happening in the month of November, which is in the rainy ſeaſon in that part of India where the theatre of war then was, General Smith thought proper to ſend his army to quarters, as they had already ſuffered greatly. He diſtributed it into Vailour, Arcot, Cangivaromarni, Gingi, &c. after having ſtrongly garriſoned Tirnmaly, Vaniambari, Ambour, and other advanced places.

The loſs of the battle of Tirnmaly, though of ſo little importance, ſpread itſelf over all Indoſtan with the greateſt rapidity; and was variouſly related, according to the diſpoſitions of the narrators. Ayder was very little concerned at an event that he attributed ſolely

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to the fault of Nizam; whoſe alliance, inſtead of producing advantage, was a real burthen to him. Nizam, on his ſide, perceiving that the conqueſt of the country of Arcot was by no means ſo near a concluſion as he had flattered himſelf, was deſirous of returning to his own dominions; but he was deſirous firſt of extorting money from Ayder, as well as from the Engliſh and Mehemet Ali Khan. The different motives and intentions of the two Subas augmented the diſtruſt that was between them; but, inſtead of its becoming apparent, they were both careful to redouble the public teſtimonials of mutual friendſhip. Nizam Daulla, on the return of Tippou Saeb, invited Ayder, and all the great men of his court, to a ſuperb feſtival. He rendered the higheſt honours to that ſovereign; and, among other things, cauſed him to ſit on a kind of throne or ſopha of maſſy gold, with cuſhions of cloth of gold, which he preſented him with in the evening, when they parted. He likewiſe gave a name of honour to Tippou Saeb, relative to his expedition againſt Madras; and beſtowed honourable titles

tles on ſeveral of the retinue *, who were moſt in Ayder's favour. A few days after, Nizam was invited by Ayder in his turn; but, inſtead of cauſing him to ſit on a throne of wrought gold, a ſopha was prepared with ſacks of pagodas and gold rupees, covered with fine carpets, and cuſhions of velvet, with a gold ground; all which was likewiſe preſented to him on his departure. It was agreed, at this laſt interview, that the two armies ſhould ſeparate, and that Nizam ſhould return to his own dominions. This ſeparation was not, however, to take place till after Ayder had taken poſſeſſion of Vaniambari and Ambour, which he had reſolved to beſiege. It was likewiſe ſettled that Ayder ſhould continue the

* They who have charges in the palace that place them in the houſehold, never ſit before the ſovereign, however high their dignity (as do the generals, and other perſons of diſtinction) till a prince, the friend and equal of their maſter, gives them a title. Nizam gave a title to Ayder's high-ſteward; and Ayder returned the compliment by giving an honourable title to the ſon of Nizam's nurſe, who poſſeſſed an employ in his palace.

war againſt Mehemet Ali Khan and the Engliſh; and that Nizam ſhould attack the Engliſh on the ſide of Mazulipatam, to oblige them to divide their forces.

To ſhew the intimacy between Ayder and his family, as well as his manner of conducting himſelf with reſpect to his relations, it will not be amiſs to deſcribe an interview he had with his mother about this time. This lady, who in quality of queen-mother has the right of commanding in the ſeraglio or palace, having received information of the check her ſon had experienced and which no doubt ſhe ſuppoſed more conſiderable than it really was, departed from Ayder Nagar to ſee her ſon in the army, notwithſtanding the inconvenience of travelling an hundred and fifty leagues in the rainy ſeaſon. She made long journies, and arrived at the camp in a few days. When the Nabob, who had been apprized of the queen's departure, was informed of her approach, he left the camp with his whole army, in Savari, or parade. The army met the head of the queen's retinue at a league diſtance from the camp, at which time they halted; and Ay-

der and his ſon advanced alone on horſeback, till they had joined the palanquin of their mother, which was cloſe and covered with muſlin. They both inclined as low as they could on their horſes, and placing themſelves on the right and left of the palanquin, the lady continued her journey, guarded by her ſon and grandſon, and followed by the whole retinue of Ayder. She paſſed through the middle of Ayder's army, who ſaluted her as if ſhe had been the prince himſelf. The retinue of Ayder's mother conſiſted of about two hundred ladies, mounted on horſes and oxen: they were enveloped in large pieces of thick muſlin, which prevented even the ſmalleſt part of their clothes from being ſeen. They all went before the palanquin of the queen-mother, which was followed by eight Garris, or ſmall Indian carriages, covered with ſcarlet cloth, and drawn by large Perſian oxen. There were likewiſe ten elephants, and a number of camels and beaſts of burthen. Some European horſemen preceded the women, and marched on one ſide. All the retinue was ſurrounded by about ſix hundred lancemen, having feathers and bells to their lances;

and the horſemen, who preceded and followed the retinue, were about four hundred in number.

It is ſaid, that when this lady was conducted into her tent, Ayder enquired what could have induced her to make ſo long a journey, eſpecially at a time when the continual rains rendered the roads almoſt impracticable; and that ſhe anſwered, "I was deſirous, my ſon, of ſeeing how you bear the ill fortune you have ſuſtained." The prince having replied, "That if heaven ſhould put him to no greater trial, he ſhould find no difficulty in ſupporting it:"—Very well then," replied ſhe, "ſince that is the caſe, I give thanks to God; and ſhall immediately return, that I may be no impediment to your operations." Two days after, this lady, having wiſhed her ſon every kind of proſperity, departed, accompanied by her ſon and grandſon to the place where they had met her.

The firſt place of encampment of Ayder's army, after the battle of Tirnmaly, was at Singueman. After having reſted two days, they paſſed the Paler, which was much ſwelled by the rains, and encamped in a plain five leagues

leagues diſtant from Caveripatnam, and ſix from Vaniambari. It was in this camp that Tippou Saeb rejoined the army, that the Subas formed their laſt treaty, and that Ayder received the viſit of his mother. The ſecond day after the departure of that lady, the army marched towards Vaniambari: the cavalry and the greateſt part of the infantry arrived in good time to reconnoitre the place, which was found ſuſceptible of being approached by favour of the water, hedges, and trees, without the neceſſity of opening the trenches. For the purpoſe of the attack, a garden was choſen, in the midſt of the inundation, upon a riſing ground; on which was conſtructed, the ſame night, a battery of twelve pieces of cannon. As this place is not more than three quarters of a league from the paſs that leads to Vailour, a body of troops with artillery were ſent to take poſſeſſion of the ſame. The commandant of Europeans being ſlightly wounded, Ayder would not permit him to attend the works during the night; but inſiſted on his going to repoſe in his tent, while he himſelf undertook to ſuperintend the workmen.

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In conſequence of this determination, he paſſed the night in the battery, ſeated at the foot of a tree, in ſpite of the dampneſs and frequent rain,—expoſed to the balls and ſhot that killed many workmen and officers near him,—and diverting every one by his pleaſantries, till the return of the commandant permitted him to retire.

The battery began to fire about ſix in the morning: and though the ſervice of the cannon was attended with much difficulty, the Engliſh fire was ſoon ſilenced; and Captain R——, commander of the place, diſplayed the white flag, and ſent Mr. D——, his ſecond in command, to treat about a capitulation. This gentleman being conducted to the European commandant, demanded the ſame terms as had been granted to the garriſon at Caveripatnam. After much altercation, on the repeated orders of Ayder to refuſe nothing, the required terms were granted; on condition that the commander of the place, and the other European officers and ſoldiers, ſhould not ſerve againſt Ayder for the ſpace of a year. When theſe conditions were agreed

on,

on, Mr. D——, much chagrined at not being treated ſo favourably as he deſired, demanded that Ayder ſhould affix his ſeal to the capitulation. Ayder being adviſed that the conference was broke off, and the officer was about to return to his place, came forward, and ſeating himſelf by the European commandant upon a cannon, addreſſed himſelf to the Engliſh deputy: "I am not," ſaid he, "commander of the ſiege. You demand my ſeal; I have not my great ſeal here; but to put an end to all difficulties, I give my ſmall ſeal into the hands of my commandant:" and pulling his ring from his finger, he gave it to the commanding officer of artillery; ſaying, "Make what uſe of this you think proper." The officer made an impreſſion with it at the bottom of the capitulation; and this diſpute of ſelf-importance was thus, by the good ſenſe of Ayder, put an end to.

The garriſon of this place conſiſted of one thouſand Seapoys, and thirty Europeans: fourteen iron cannon, that had been diſmounted for the moſt part by the cannon of the beſiegers, compoſed all the artillery. Beſides theſe cannon, that were found by the Engliſh in the

place, two other pieces belonging to the regiment of Seapoys were taken. The place made no great reſiſtance, though it was well provided with ammunition and ſtores, though there was no breach, and a ſufficient number of workmen to repair the carriages: but we have already hinted at the reaſons that induced the commandants of theſe places to make ſo little reſiſtance.

After placing a good garriſon in Vaniambari, the army marched towards Ambour, a place famous for the battle gained by the French, and the troops of Mouzà Ferring and Chanda Saeb, againſt Anaverdi Khan, father of Maffous Khan and Mehemet Ali, who loſt his life, at the age of eighty-two years, on the third day of the battle, after having repelled the enemy from his retrenchments for two ſucceſſive days. This place, in which the Engliſh had amaſſed conſiderable quantities of ammunition and ſtores, together with artillery, muſquets, uniforms, and tents, is compoſed of three different fortifications, incloſed the one within the other.

The firſt is the citadel, ſituated on a mountain of the moſt difficult acceſs, on account of its ſteepneſs on all ſides. This extenſive fortreſs is capable of containing a numerous garriſon, with all the neceſſary ſtores, not excepting even beaſts of every kind: two very large baſons, cut in the rock, contain much more water than it is poſſible to conſume from one rainy ſeaſon to another: and laſtly, the ramparts are conſtructed with ſuch ſtrength and firmneſs, that for this reaſon, as well as the elevation of the mountain, very large cannon, and much time, would be required to make a breach.

At the foot of the citadel, and on the only acceſſible ſide, is a fort, which the Engliſh have ſtrengthened by the addition of a palliſaded covered way, and a glacis: and laſtly, a town of conſiderable magnitude incloſes the fort, defended by a brick wall, with round baſtions, and a dry ditch. Half the town is covered from any attack by a large pond; at the end of which the Engliſh have conſtructed a redoubt, which cloſed the road that led between the pond and the river, and commanded the road

road on the other ſide between the river and a high mountain.

As ſoon as the army had encamped about a league diſtant from Vaniambari, on the banks of the river they had paſſed at Vaniambari, Ayder went, the very ſame evening, to reconnoitre the town, in ſpite of a very heavy rain, that was partly the cauſe of his being in great danger: for, having advanced to the border of the pond, he found himſelf unexpectedly expoſed to the cannon of the redoubt, which was maſqued by trees, and the end of the bank of the pond. This artillery, which conſiſted of three large pieces, made a diſcharge that killed fifteen horſe, and covered Ayder with blood, and the limbs of the unfortunate men that were ſlain. Notwithſtanding this accident, Ayder continued to reconnoitre the approaches; and reſolved to croſs the river again with his army, to encamp on the other ſide of the town; where he ſhould be in a poſition equally advantageous for the ſecurity of his camp, and for proſecuting the ſiege of Ambour, which would be blocked up by his camp on the

ſide

ſide of Vailour and Sattgheri, and by the army of Nizam on the ſide of Vaniambari and Ventigheri.

In conſequence of this reſolution, the army traverſed the river during the night, and paſſed under the fire of the redoubt before the break of day; ſo that a few ſtragglers among the valets and ſuttlers were the only perſons that ſuffered.

Between the river that flows on the ſide where Ayder's army was encamped, and a chain of mountains that extend from Ambour to Sattgheri, is a plain about three leagues in length, and of an unequal breadth, from half to three-quarters of a league. One extremity of this is entirely ſhut up by the town of Ambour, the redoubt, and the river. This part of the town, whoſe approach was much favoured by fields of a kind of millet, then very high, was judged capable of being taken by ſtorm, without making any breach. Orders were conſequently given to prepare ladders of Bamboo *: but as it was thought that

* The Bamboo is a kind of large reed, very well known.

that the garriſon, which was numerous, might make reſiſtance, the grenadiers and beſt infantry were ordered to make the attack.

The order of attack being ſettled, the chiefs of each corps were conducted, in open day, to reconnoitre thoſe places they were deſtined to march againſt; and at the cloſe of the evening, after ſupper, the troops ſpread themſelves in the plain, carrying their ladders, and poſted themſelves oppoſite that part of the town they were to aſſault; with orders to lie down, and wait in ſilence for the concerted ſignal. Cannon were likewiſe conducted into ſome deſerted houſes, that formed a village in the midſt of a great number of trees, fronting the part neareſt the river; from whence it was judged they might favour the attack, by enfilading the rampart. The Engliſh, who

known. This wood is ſo uſeful, and grows ſo quickly, that it is found every where. It is excellently adapted for ſcaling-ladders, becauſe it is round, of a requiſite thickneſs, of a very great length, and never breaks. Any utenſil may be cut out of it with a pocket-knife, as the wood is as ſoft as deal.

could

could not be ignorant of theſe preparations, as they were openly made, appeared very buſy during the whole night; and kept a great firing on the village, whoſe houſes they ſhot through and through, without killing more than one man. They continually threw out fire-pots and fuſees, to diſcover the manœuvres of the aſſailants; but while the night laſted, Ayder's troops remained at their eaſe. At the break of day they advanced in good order from all parts, carrying their ladders, with drums beating and colours flying, till they came to the edge of the ditch, into which they deſcended. They mounted the walls and baſtions ſo quickly, that Ayder's colours were hoiſted on the ramparts immediately after, in ſpite of the cannon and muſquetry of the enemy, which was not very ſharp; whether it be that the commandant of the place did not think proper to make a longer reſiſtance, or whether the Engliſh had retired, ſuppoſing the eſcalade would not take place. Some men were at firſt ſeen on the baſtions; but the cannon placed in the village, or perhaps their fears, drove them away: for the

the grenadiers in aſcending found them abandoned, and immediately proceeded to plunder the town. Some of them having ventured to purſue the fugitives as far as the glacis of the fort, found themſelves expoſed to a cannonade that deſtroyed conſiderable numbers; others were ſlain in the ſtreets by the cannon of the fort and citadel, which obliged them to ſtretch curtains acroſs the ſtreets, and to cut paſſages through the houſes. Among thoſe who were ſlain in this attack, was the brave and generous Caki Saeb, Pirjada, or grand almonier, who was running from houſe to houſe, according to his laudable cuſtom, to prevent the ſoldiers from committing any act of cruelty.

Ayder himſelf formed the project of this attack by day; and conducted the left wing of his troops in perſon, on horſeback, with his ſabre drawn, to the edge of the ditch.

At the beginning of the night an Engliſh gunner, a deſerter, gave information that the garriſon of the fort would retreat into the citadel that night, and that they were employed in carrying off the moſt valuable effects, and deſtroying the reſt. The commandant of Europeans

ropeans propoſed to Ayder, immediately to attack the fort with all the grenadiers; having the Europeans, as well horſemen as gunners, at their head. This being agreed to, every preparation for the attack was made in an hour; and at eight o'clock the troops ſallied forth through the ſtreets, and leaping into the covered way, ſcaled the fort, which the Engliſh made haſte to abandon; however, they could not do this ſo quickly, but that twenty-five Seapoys, an officer, and ſix Europeans were taken priſoners, two of the latter being wounded.

The Engliſh had thrown a large quantity of cartouches into a pond in the middle of the fort, and had cauſed a fire to be made in the *place d'armes*, for the purpoſe of burning the uniforms, a conſiderable quantity of which were ſaved. The beſiegers found eighteen braſs cannon deſigned for field ſervice, three thouſand firelocks, a great quantity of ſhot, bullets, and gun-flints, and a conſiderable ſtock of rice and flour. There were likewiſe ſtore-houſes filled with tents, cheſts, and effects belonging, or intended to be ſold, to the army; which was very

very acceptable plunder for the ſoldiers; and might eaſily have been ſaved, as Captain C——, commandant of the place, was in a ſituation to have defended the fort a very long time, his garriſon being numerous, and well provided both with artillery and ammunition.

The facility Ayder met with in taking all the Engliſh places he attacked, encouraged him to undertake the ſiege of Ambour; though he had received advice, that the Engliſh were marching from all parts to aſſemble at Vailour. Firm and determined in his ſmalleſt reſolutions, he refuſed to follow the prudent advice that was given him, to repair immediately to Vailour; as he eaſily might in a ſingle march, the diſtance from Ambour being only ten leagues. At this laſt place he would have been in the centre of the Engliſh quarters, which were diſperſed for more than forty leagues round, and might have prevented them from uniting; a ſtep of ſo much the more conſequence, as the Engliſh at Madras had lately received a reinforcement of troops from Bengal, which the poſition of Ayder's army,

army, at Vailour, would have prevented them from joining the other troops.

The difficulty of taking the citadel of Ambour, which we have deſcribed as being ſituated on a ſteep mountain, was rendered much greater to Ayder, by the circumſtance of his being without either bombs or mortars. The ditches of the town, ſerving in ſome reſpects as trenches, favoured the approaches; and many guns were mounted in a ſhort time, though with the loſs of the beſt gunners, who were uncovered from head to foot, by reaſon of the elevation of the caſtle. Ayder allowed but one night for conſtructing the batteries, and conſequently the parapet could not be made of the requiſite height and thickneſs, till after the loſs of many brave men. Cannon were planted on a mountain that overlooked the citadel; but the Engliſh, in two days, erected a bulwark on that part of the citadel expoſed to the ricochet, or rolling ſhot of the cannon, which rendered them abſolutely uſeleſs. The great diſtance between the two places prevented the firing in battery from the mountain; ſo that after ſeventeen days ſiege, with the loſs

of many Europeans, and much powder and ball, the work was no more advanced than at firſt. In this ſtate of affairs news arrived that the Engliſh army was aſſembled at Vailour, and was preparing to march and raiſe the ſiege.

On this intelligence Ayder took the reſolution of anticipating the enemy, and retreated.

The redoubt we have ſpoken of being entirely cut off from all communication with the fort by the eſcalade of the city, its garriſon conſiſting of one hundred Seapoys, ſix European cannoniers *, and an Engliſh ſerjeant, who commanded, was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion.

A number of irregular troops being introduced, at the cloſe of day, into the city and fort, who climbed up the ſides of the mountain, and fired upon the guards,—the cannon was drawn off under favour of this noiſe; and at midnight, an hour before the riſing of the moon, all the troops quitted the trenches, and marched to join the reſt of the army that had left

* It is to be obſerved, that in India there are not above three or four Europeans quartered to the largeſt guns, the reſt being Indians.

their

their camp, at the beginning of night, and repaired to another on the road to Vaniambari *. On the following day the army marched, and encamped on the banks of the river of Vaniambari; its right wing bearing againſt that fortreſs, and its front directed towards Ambour.

This retreat of Ayder was the ſignal of Nizam's ſeparation from him, that Suba retiring into the country of Carpet or Cadapet.

The ſame day that Ayder pitched his camp at Vaniambari, General Smith arrived at Ambour with his army, conſiſting of 28,000 men, of which 5,000 were Engliſh; for the Bengal

* A ſurpriſing phænomenon happened on the night of this retreat, which was at the end of December: The moon roſe at one in the morning; and about three it was ſo extremely cold, that no one in the armies of the two Subas could remain either in bed or in his tent, though they were provided with carpets and cloth coverlids, but were obliged to light large fires and warm themſelves, as in the time of the greateſt froſts at Paris. The weather, during this great cold, was very ſerene, with little or no wind; and nothing ſimilar to it happened on the night following. This event was ſo uncommon in that climate, that the moſt aged perſons had never known or heard of the like.

reinforcement conſiſted of ſix hundred Europeans, and ſix thouſand Seapoys, very much ſuperior in appearance to the Seapoys of Madras, and eſteemed by the Engliſh as the beſt infantry in India.

The Engliſh general allowed his troops a ſhort time for repoſe, and left Ambour on the very evening of his arrival, directing his march to Vaniambari.

Ayder was ſo confident that the Engliſh would not come to ſeek him, that he did not take the uſual precaution of diſpatching advanced guards of cavalry and light troops on the ſide of the enemy. There were no other than large bodies of cavalry on the other ſide of the river, about half a league from the camp; and two redoubts, raiſed about one hundred paces from the ſame bank, on an eminence, that ſerved as poſts for the advanced guards of infantry. Each of theſe redoubts mounted two pieces of cannon: and it was not till ſeven in the morning that the approach of the enemy was known by the cannon of the redoubts, that gave the ſignal of alarm; at the ſame inſtant that the arrival of the horſemen put the fact out of doubt.

That which induced Ayder to ſuppoſe the Engliſh would not paſs Ambour, a town on his frontier, was, his having diſpatched propoſitions of peace to the army and to Madras. The bearer of theſe propoſals was an Engliſhman, formerly factor or conſul at Carvac. As the chief preliminary was, that every thing ſhould remain *in ſtatu quo* (an offer ſo much the more convenient, as neither party had any reſtitution to make; all the places formerly taken by the Engliſh being recaptured, and Ayder having evacuated the dominions of the Engliſh, or of Mehemet Ali Khan) he did not doubt of their being accepted. This mediator had promiſed to ſend advice, as early as poſſible, whether he had any hopes of ſucceeding in his miſſion. But General Smith, who had his inſtructions and his projects, did not think himſelf at liberty to ſuſpend his operations, though he was of opinion that peace would be advantageous to his nation. The Engliſhman continued his journey to Madras, without ſending back advice according to his inſtructions. On his arrival at Madras, he found the governor and council recovered of their fright,

and elated with the hope of ſucceſs from certain intrigues they were carrying on. In this diſpoſition they treated him as a young man, and derided his propoſitions; but the conſequences gave them ſufficient reaſon to repent.

On the news of the enemy's approach, Ayder put himſelf at the head of the piquets of cavalry, and paſſed the river; after giving orders to ſtrike the camp, to draw up the infantry in order of battle, and to march the heavy artillery and baggage to Caveripatnam; at the ſame time commanding his brother Moctum to follow him with all the cavalry.

The Nabob advanced as far as the redoubts. The enemy appeared in good order, coming forward in three columns of infantry: their whole cavalry formed the rear-guard in a ſingle line, except two hundred Engliſh dragoons, who rode before the columns.

The firſt care of this ſovereign was to draw off the cannon of the redoubts, and to cauſe the advanced guards of infantry to rejoin the reſt of the army; and as he obſerved that the enemy continued to advance, he himſelf

himſelf repaſſed the river, leaving Moctum Ali Khan at the head of a large body of cavalry, and the commandant of Europeans at the head of the huſſars and dragoons, with orders to obſerve the march of the enemy, and to harraſs them even ſo far as to attack the head of their columns; with the intention of cauſing them to ſlacken or ſtop their march, that Ayder's army might have time to retire. This cavalry, with the dragoons and huſſars at their head, haſtened to attack the enemy's columns to the centre and the left, which appeared in a ſituation to come up with Ayder's army the ſooneſt; becauſe the column to the right was on an eminence, and could not paſs the river without defiling, as the banks were very ſteep. The European cavalry were advancing full trot to attack the centre, when ſeveral cannon, diſcharged from the right-hand column on their flank, killed two horſes; one of which was that of the commandant of Europeans, who falling, found himſelf immediately ſurrounded by the Engliſh dragoons, and abandoned by his own, through the

treachery of the greater number, who, together with their officers, gave themſelves up to the Engliſh. The French commandant, in falling, received a contuſion on the buttock and thigh, that formed an abſceſs; in the cure of which he kept his bed three months at Madras. This deſertion ſtopped the Indian cavalry, who returned; and General Smith ordered his army immediately to halt, ſuffering Ayder's army to retreat unmoleſted. A few ſhot were fired at ſome cavalry that came to reconnoitre his army, that remained on the ſame ground till evening, becauſe his equipage could not arrive ſooner; at which time he turned back, and encamped on the road to Ambour, about half a league diſtant from the river.

It is impoſſible to exceed the politeneſs and reſpect that General Smith ſhewed to his priſoner, the French commandant. He cauſed him to ſleep in his own tent; and informed him, that the march of his army had no other purpoſe than that of favouring the deſertion of the Europeans, which was expected to be much more conſiderable, in conſequence

quence of a plot that had long been carried on, and which they were apprehenſive could be no longer concealed *.

The honour and integrity that the writer of theſe Memoirs has adhered to in the relation of the facts they contain, do not allow him to paſs over in ſilence the odious plots that were made uſe of, in order to execute this infamous piece of treachery.

After the capture of Caveripatnam, permiſſion was given to an adventurer †, a ſurgeon by profeſſion, to retire to the coaſt of Coromandel, taking the advantage of going in company with ſome Engliſh officers, who had been taken in that place. This permiſſion was, no doubt, a great indiſcretion; but, as the proverb ſays, we can never think of every thing; and there was, beſides, a

* General Smith did not fire on this troop; and ſaid, that in keeping the ſecret, he had forgot to give an order for that purpoſe to Colonel Linn, who commanded the column to the right.

† This man, whoſe name we conceal on account of his family, has, by his bad conduct, attracted the notice of government, and is now in confinement.

wiſh

wiſh to get rid of a worthleſs man, from whom there was no reaſon to fear any thing. Nothing leſs than an unforeſeen chain of circumſtances could have given him the power of doing miſchief.

This ſurgeon came to Ayder at Coilmoutour, where he announced himſelf a Chevalier de St. Louis, and ancient captain of artillery, travelling to Pondicherry. He found credit with the commandant of Ayder's Europeans, to whom he addreſſed himſelf; becauſe he had been recommended to that officer by the chief of the French factory at Calicut, who, in forwarding European news, added, *Theſe things may be depended on, as they come from good hands: I have them from M. le Chevalier de * * * * *, who is arrived from Europe by the caravans, and is on his way to Pondicherry, &c. &c.* This commandant did not indulge a doubt reſpecting the good qualities of the chevalier, who, together with the croſs he had the audacity to bear, poſſeſſed likewiſe, to the misfortune of many, an engaging and ſeductive exterior. On this falſe appearance of candour and rectitude, the commandant

commandant of Europeans received him in the beſt manner, and preſented him to Ayder, who gave him the command of a battalion of Seapoys, with appointments to the value of four hundred rupees, or £. 50. per month. The man was abſolutely without common neceſſaries; and the French commandant ſupplied him with lodging, ſubſiſtence, a carriage, and every thing becoming a gentleman. After theſe ſervices, it may naturally be ſuppoſed that he would have felt the utmoſt gratitude and regard for his benefactor: but, on the contrary, his perfidy and want of principle were ſuch, that in leſs than three months he was diſmiſſed from all his employs. Being on the point of being reduced to beggary, he had the confidence to requeſt permiſſion to exerciſe his buſineſs as a ſurgeon. This requeſt was made by the mediation of Ayder's ſurgeon, who had been a fellow-ſoldier with him in Lally's regiment, and had recollected him perfectly on his arrival; though, at the requeſt of the other, he did not expoſe him. Our gentleman, thus becoming a ſurgeon, found himſelf to be a Che-

valier

valier de Chriſt *, by the aſſiſtance of a croſs that ſerved every purpoſe: it was, however, a real croſs of St. Louis, that ſide being untouched on which are the ſword and laurel crown, with the motto *Bellicæ virtutis præmium*; but on the other, the enamel that repreſents St. Louis was taken off, and a ſmall croſs ſubſtituted in its place. He affirmed, that he had cauſed this croſs to be made in this manner when in Portugal, in order to give it a French appearance. However, he was forbade to wear it; but he adorned himſelf by an embroidery on his clothes, that was permitted him. A ſpecimen of his uſual tricks having procured him to be confined, he obtained his enlargement by means of his comrade, with leave to repair to the coaſt of Coromandel, in company of ſome Engliſh officers who were to return to Madras.

* He affirmed, on the ſecond day after his arrival, that he was a knight of this Portugueſe order. The facility with which he conferred theſe dignities upon himſelf, and a long ſtay at Liſbon, whence the fear of hanging had induced him to make his eſcape, and a patent ſince affirmed to be forged, were the cauſes why this quality was not called in queſtion.

Our

Our adventurer ſpoke good Engliſh, and undertook to court the favour of Captain M * * * * *, by a ſtring of narrations to which that gentleman either gave credit, or pretended to do ſo. Among other things, he told him, that all the Europeans in Ayder's ſervice, who conſtituted his chief force, were much diſguſted with the ſervice they were engaged in, and ſtill more with their commandant; and that if the government of Madras would employ him, he would engage to cauſe them all to deſert; in the execution of which project, his friend, the ſurgeon of the Nabob, would engage to lend every aſſiſtance in his power.

The Engliſh officer, charmed at the diſcovery of a method of turning the attention of the Madras adminiſtration from the cowardly defence he had made, preſented our chevalier to Colonel Çall, engineer in chief, and a man of great influence in the council. He had great abilities; but, conſidering the extent of his mind, he was blameable for attending more to the purpoſe or end he aimed at, than to the difficulties that might prevent his arriving at it. This colonel, who, like

like many others, was bigotted to the opinion that the Indians can do nothing without the help of the Europeans in their ſervice, was delighted with the project of the chevalier; and preſented him to the governor and Mehemet Ali Khan, by whom he was received as a guardian angel. Thus it was that this man, from being a ſurgeon driven out of Ayder's camp, ſuddenly found himſelf the friend and confidant of the governor and Mehemet Ali Khan. He was nobly entertained, and loaded with preſents, in ſpite of the railleries of ſome Engliſhmen, who knew him from the reputation he had acquired by exhibiting his tricks at Bengal.

While the gentlemen at Madras were deliberating on the means of carrying their plot into execution, an ancient French officer, of the Eaſt India Company's troops of that nation, arrived there. He ſuppoſed himſelf to have been unjuſtly treated by that Company; and came to offer his ſervices to the Engliſh againſt Ayder Ali Khan.

The project of the chevalier ſurgeon was communicated to him. He did not heſitate to undertake

undertake the taſk of carrying it into effect. His offer was accepted, with a promiſe of making him lieutenant colonel, with the command of a corps in the pay of the Engliſh Company; the baſis of which was to be compoſed of the deſerters from Ayder.

To engage the confidence of the Engliſh government, this officer cauſed his trunks and valuable effects to be carried to the houſe of the governor, who placed them in his cabinet. Not to make himſelf ſuſpected by Ayder, this new emiſſary repaired to Pondicherry, where he communicated in confidence to all his acquaintance his deſign of going into the ſervice of that Nabob. A number of officers and young men offered to accompany him. He was careful to tranſmit their names to the governor of Madras; and left Pondicherry ſecretly, at the time he expected the complaints of the Engliſh governor would arrive. The French governor, on receipt of the letter of complaint, ſent for thoſe who were nominated, and demanded their word of honour, that they would not leave Pondicherry without his conſent.

The informer, who had the utmoſt facility in making his journey, becauſe the country he had to traverſe was entirely under the government of the Engliſh, repaired to the camp of Colonel Wood in the environs of Ahtour. He remained there two days; when that army departing to join General Smith, he went to Ahtour, and declared himſelf to be French: guides and every thing he demanded were conſequently allowed to conduct him to Ayder's camp. He arrived, accompanied by a ſingle ſervant; and affirmed, that having met the army of Colonel Wood, he had paſſed two days in the foreſts, at the riſque of being devoured by tygers; and that he had made the journey from Pondicherry to Ahtour on foot.

The reputation he had acquired, probably in conſequence of the virtues and talents his relations had exhibited in India, prejudiced the commandant of Ayder's Europeans in his favour. That officer thought himſelf happy in ſeeing him arrive, ſuppoſing that he had found a companion to ſhare his labours; and conſequently endeavoured to render him every

mark

mark of friendſhip and reſpect. The emiſſary at firſt ſeemed to meet the advances of the commandant with cordial regard. He waited afterwards on Raza Saeb, whom he had long known, and who repoſed the utmoſt confidence in him on account of his family, which had always been highly attached to that prince's father. Raza Saeb undertook to introduce him to Ayder, who, to the ſurprize of all preſent, received him with evident marks of chagrin: which was ſo much the more ſtrange, as that Nabob always received the commoneſt French ſoldier with pleaſure. But he had been informed poſitively by Moctum, his brother-in-law, who had ſeen the officer at the head of the French cavalry, when he eſcorted the convoys from Gingi to Pondicherry, that the man was a coward. It was not poſſible to perſuade Ayder to receive him with any mark of reſpect; as he had too much eſteem and friendſhip for his brother-in-law, not to give credit to his report. By this prevention he could not obtain the command of a company of huſſars, that was without a captain and was commanded by a lieu-

tenant who could neither write nor read. The European commandant, not having the leaſt idea of its being poſſible that a man of family and reputation, as the newly arrived officer was, could deſerve ſuch a character, was firmly perſuaded that Moctum had prejudiced Ayder againſt him without reaſon. To convince him of his eſteem, he communicated to him, in confidence, the ſecret of the expedition againſt Godelour; believing that he could give him good advice, becauſe he had lately arrived from Pondicherry, which is not more than two leagues diſtant from Godelour; and expecting that the ſucceſs of the expedition would be productive of advantage to him. We have already ſhewn how he made uſe of Raza Saeb, to fruſtrate this undertaking; and how he prevented the governor, and the major part of the council, from being made priſoners: for as he knew of the intended expedition of Tippou Saeb by means of Raza, who had an entire confidence in him, he ſent off his ſervant among the Pandaris that Tippou Saeb took with him, becauſe, having no other intention than that of

ravaging the country, he could not take a ſet of men more capable of doing it. The battle of Tirnmaly happened a few days after the arrival of this Engliſh emiſſary; and the officers of cavalry, with the permiſſion of their commandant, who attended his duty as general of the artillery, offered to place him at their head during the battle. But he refuſed, and kept conſtantly behind Ayder, who ſeeing him mounted on a horſe of one of the huſſars, as he knew by the harneſs, cauſed a horſe to be preſented to him that belonged to one of the Pandaris that had been ſlain, which was the greateſt affront he could ſhew him.

When the army marched from Singueman to encamp between Caveripatnam and Vaniambari, and had paſſed the Palcr about three leagues from their new camp, the commandant remained with the artillery, on account of the paſſage being rendered difficult by the rains that had ſwelled the river. At this time Ayder ſent to him, on account of a ſedition among the huſſars and dragoons, who refuſed the pay that was offered them as uſual, inſiſting on being paid in ſilver rupees inſtead of gold pa-

godas; which would have made a difference of about five ſhillings a month in their favour. As this difficulty had never been made before, the commandant had not much trouble in perſuading them to receive the money that was offered them; and taking occaſion of the battle lately loſt, in which their attack, and ſtill leſs that of the other cavalry, was not ſupported ſo well as might have been expected, he reproached them for raiſing difficulties about their pay, without ſhewing any great readineſs to deſerve it. They who ſecretly excited them to murmur, were doubtleſs eager in urging them to reſent this affront; for that very evening they went off in a body, with their regimentals and ſabres, and repaired with offers of ſervice to the camp of Ram Schander, a Maratta prince, who had received into his pay the Europeans that Ayder had formerly diſgraced and caſhiered. On the news of their departure, the commandant purſued them at the head of a body of grenadier Seapoys. Ram Schander, cautious of giving offence to Ayder, and probably informed that the Europeans were purſued, ordered them

them to quit his camp. Being then totally at a loſs what ſteps to take, they waited for the commandant, grounded their arms at his command, and ſuffered themſelves to be conducted back without reſiſtance. They were kept bound and expoſed to public view for ſome days; but at length were reinſtated, apparently at the interceſſion of Ayder; who did not think it beneath him to pretend to ſpeak in their favour. All this may not ſeem very prudent in Europe; but it is neceſſary to attend to the ſituation of Ayder and the commandant. Ayder eſteemed the Europeans perhaps far beyond their value, and the other exiſted only by their means. This ſedition was thought to be a kind of buſineſs that would not be attended with any conſequences; more eſpecially as they did not know where to direct their ſteps, or to ſituate themſelves better.

This affair happened ſome days before the capture of Vaniambari; and every thing ſeemed quiet, when advices came to the Nabob from Vailour, and from St. Thomas to the commandant, that ſome treachery was carry-

ing on, and a deſertion projecting, among the Europeans in Ayder's army. Not being able to build any thing upon ſuch general advice, and the agents being ſuch as were leaſt ſuſpected, the commandant ſuppoſed he could do nothing better than to aſſemble all the Europeans, and to require an oath on the croſs and the holy goſpels, by which they ſhould promiſe to ſerve Ayder Ali Khan with fidelity; to adviſe the prince and the commandant of every thing they might hear to his prejudice; and not to quit his ſervice without aſking for permiſſion. Before the oath was adminiſtered, every individual was aſked whether he had received his pay; and was offered his diſmiſſion, if he requeſted it. This precaution was thought ſufficient; and would have been ſo, if the government of Madras had not employed means to prevent its effect.

The Engliſh emiſſary found an excellent coadjutor in the ſurgeon, the friend of the Chevalier de Chriſt: for this man had a natural inclination for hazardous undertakings, and ſought to render himſelf the ſubject of diſcourſe

diſcourſe at any rate *. He offered to undertake every thing, on the aſſurance of being appointed ſurgeon-major in the Engliſh ſervice. But the conſpirators not ſucceeding with the ſoldiers, on account of the oath they had

* To give an unequivocal proof of the character of this ſurgeon, it may be recollected, that in 1776 there appeared, in the different journals, a letter pretended to be written by a phyſician in Sweden, which announced that a man had been delivered of a child, or was at the point of delivery. The ſingular and ridiculous diſputes, on the ſubject of this phænomenon, are freſh in the memory of every one. The true inventor of this tale was no other than our ſurgeon, who in 1766 tranſmitted from Coilmoutour to the Sieur de la G. firſt counſellor at Pondicherry, the hiſtory of this monſtrous pregnancy; affirming that Ayder had employed him to act the part of midwife in the buſineſs. To his hiſtory were added the anatomy and deſcription of the parts, entirely reſembling that ſaid to be from Sweden; and as the inventor is in a double capacity the favourite of Apollo, the god of medicine and poeſy, he adjoined a poem on the wonders of nature, relative to the prodigy he announced. This hiſtory is too well known to admit of the leaſt doubt of its truth.

taken, wrote to Madras; informing their principals that it was neceſſary they ſhould have the co-operation of the two Jeſuits then in Ayder's camp; and that it would be expedient to forward a letter from the governor of Pondicherry to thoſe fathers, ordering the French to quit Ayder's ſervice, by paſſing over to the army and through the country of the Engliſh, who would receive them, and ſuffer them to join their own ſtandard at Pondicherry.

The Jeſuits were in the moſt abſolute ſtate of dependance on the Engliſh; and having no other exiſtence in India than they were pleaſed to grant, they thought themſelves obliged to ſerve them according to the directions tranſmitted to them. They obtained paſſports from Ayder for their domeſtics paſſing to and from their houſes at St. Thomas's; and by that means became the agents of the correſpondence of the Engliſh with their emiſſaries. They were provided with a fictitious letter from the governor of Pondicherry, who had already written to Ayder in their favour, ſuppoſing them to be priſoners; though they received every kindneſs, and only waited a favourable opportunity

tunity to return. To perform the commiſſion they had from the Engliſh, they privately ſhewed the Europeans the pretended letter, affirming that they were forbidden to ſhew it to the commandant; but that the governor had ſent to them to excite the Chriſtians to leave the ſervice of a Mahometan prince; at the ſame time that, as divines, they informed them that their oath given to an infidel was null, and ceaſed to be obligatory, by reaſon of the order of the king's repreſentative. The producing a letter of this kind to the ſoldiers of Ayder cannot be denied; as the fact is notorious, and can be proved by many witneſſes now in Paris. The letter was falſe, becauſe the governor of Pondicherry could have no reaſon for concealing it from the commandant: on the contrary, that officer being in poſſeſſion of letters entirely written in the governor's hand, it would have been in his power to have prevented any ſuſpicion of its forgery, if it could have ſtood that teſt: and as the governor was not ignorant that a counſellor of Pondicherry had a correſpondence in cypher with the commandant, by which

which all diſpatches were communicated to him, he would certainly have informed him of the contents of this letter, which was addreſſed to all the French in Ayder's army. The Jeſuit fathers who ſerved the Engliſh in this buſineſs, as well as the three Portugueſe prieſts, were ſent back in company with the Engliſh factor, who went to Madras with propoſitions of peace.

When the Portugueſe prieſts arrived at Vailour, and ſaw the Jeſuits give their letters to General Smith and the governor of the place, they were in the higheſt aſtoniſhment to find that thoſe reverend fathers had charged themſelves with a miſſion of ſuch a nature; and ſo much the more, as the news they brought appeared to be not caſual, but early and important. The prieſts never ſpoke of this event without trepidation and fear; proteſting they were innocent, and totally ignorant of the intrigues and manœuvres carried on againſt a prince who had loaded them with favours. In fact, Ayder had given each of them, at parting, the ſum of three hundred rupees to bear their travelling charges; a ſum which is equi-

valent

valent to thirty guineas; and if he had been ſo diſpoſed, it was in his power to have inflicted on them the puniſhment the worthleſs Jeſuits had ſo well deſerved.

Ayder having retired to Caveripatnam, General Smith took poſſeſſion of Vaniambari, which had been left without a garriſon; but he could no longer follow Ayder, becauſe he was obliged to wait for the convoys of ammunition and ſtores that had a great diſtance to travel: and the difficulty of collecting a ſufficient number of oxen for draught and carriage was ſuch, that he was under the neceſſity of detaching a part of his army to bring forward the convoy. The capture of the ſtores and ammunition laid up at Ambour, was the cauſe of all theſe delays in General Smith's operations.

The government of Madras, according to their promiſes, formed a body of light troops, compoſed of cavalry and infantry, under the name of the foreign corps; of which their French emiſſary in the camp of Ayder was made commandant, and the Chevalier de Chriſt commiſſary. To put a finiſh to the relation

of

of theſe deteſtable proceedings, we think it neceſſary to mention, in this place, the fate this new troop experienced in ſpite of the intrigues of the commiſſary, who employed not only ſubornation but aſſaſſination. To augment the foreign corps, he was always reduced to little or nothing; thoſe who were ſent to Pondicherry and elſewhere to enliſt men, were diſcovered; almoſt all the horſemen deſerted, and took refuge either at Pondicherry or with Ayder, who paid them for horſes they brought, as if they had not ſtolen them from himſelf. The commandant of this unfortunate corps was puniſhed, according to his deſerts, by thoſe very men whom he had ſerved at the expence of his honour. An Engliſh court-martial declared him a coward, and unworthy to continue in the ſervice; and condemned him to be degraded from his rank, and expelled from the army. We have already mentioned the fate of the Chevalier who firſt projected this ſcheme.

Nizam Ali Khan, who, as we have before obſerved, quitted Ayder, and departed for the country of Carpet, was no ſooner arrived there,

there, than his Divan and worthy miniſter Rocum Daulla wrote to Mehemet Ali Khan, his brother-in-law, to acquaint him that he had at length prevailed on Nizam to abandon Ayder; and that if he and the Engliſh deſired it, he would repair to Madras, with full power to make ſuch a treaty as they might wiſh for or expect.

The governor and council of Madras haſtened to ſignify their deſire of ſeeing ſo great a perſonage in their capital: and, in conſequence, Rocum Daulla and Ram Schander, a Maratta prince, one of the principal confidants of Nizam, repaired with great pomp to Madras, where they made a magnificent entry, being ſaluted by the cannon, and the Engliſh troops lining the ſtreets they paſſed through. They were every day entertained with new ſpectacles, and conducted to ſee the ſhipping, and every thing that was deſerving their attention: but what gave them the moſt ſatisfaction was, the valuable preſents that were made them. Nizam had the leaſt ſhare; the preſents ſent to him were of inconſiderable

able value; but the deficiency was made up by promiſes of vaſt magnitude: and, on the other hand, theſe great and magnificent miniſters ſigned a treaty, by which Nizam Daulla confirmed Mehemet Ali Khan in the Nabobſhip of Arcot, and in all the country he poſſeſſed or might obtain. Nizam Ali likewiſe ratified the gift to the Engliſh of the four circars or provinces to the north of Maſulipatam, as well as the gift of that great city.

Two counſellors of Madras afterwards departed, in quality of ambaſſadors, to Nizam Ali, who ſent them back with the greateſt honours, and loaded with preſents for themſelves and the governor. Thus it was that this Suba, who, twenty years before, held the deſtiny of India in his hands, became a kind of beggar among other powers, and daily loſt that credit and conſideration which gave him his ſuperb titles.

Morarao, a Maratta prince, poſſeſſor of a ſmall territory beyond Scirra, joined the Engliſh army, bringing with him about two thouſand

thouſand five hundred horſe, and three thouſand foot, the whole in bad order; but the Engliſh ſought for ſuccours from all parts.

General Smith, perfectly acquainted with the nature of the country, and the kind of war he was to carry on, endeavoured without ſucceſs to prevail on the council at Madras to accept the offers of peace held out by Ayder. He therefore offered it as his opinion, that it would be more advantageous, inſtead of loſing time in making ſieges, to purſue and preſs Ayder's army as much as poſſible; and, if he could not be come up with, to beſiege ſome place of conſequence. He propoſed, for the object of their efforts, Benguelour, the capital of a fine country. But the government of Madras, determined to conquer all the country on the exterior ſide of the grand Gates, obliged the general to divide his army into two parts, and to give the command of one part to Colonel Wood, for the purpoſe of beſieging and taking all the ſmall places that lie in the vallies, while General Smith was employed in keeping Ayder's army in employment.

General

General Smith having complied with theſe orders, the project appeared to be attended with the greateſt ſucceſs. Colonel Wood took a great number of places, and that with ſo much the more facility, as three fourths of them had no other garriſon than the militia of the country. Theſe conqueſts wonderfully elated the governor and council, who, as the crowning ſtroke of their ſucceſs, received the news that an armament of about eight thouſand men from Bombay had landed at Mangalor, and taken that city; whoſe feeble garriſon, not being aſſiſted by the inhabitants, had made their eſcape. Ayder's veſſels, being then at Goa, were not captured; but three hundred pieces of cannon were found in the place, including a quantity of very indifferent iron guns, deſigned for the ſhipping, and for the moſt part unſerviceable:—but this is of no conſequence, as the number of guns is always a great ornament to a relation. The commandant of this army wrote word, that he intended, as early as poſſible, to march to Ayder Nagar, not imagining he ſhould find any difficulty

culty in penetrating ſo far, and ſtill farther from indulging a doubt of taking it, together with the immenſe treaſures Ayder had laid up in the place.

This important piece of news was announced to the people by one hundred and one cannon fired from Fort St. George; and the relation of the capture of Mangalor was ſpread into all the European ſettlements, and every other part of the country.

The news of the landing of the Engliſh at Mangalor had been inſtantly forwarded to Ayder: he was conſequently under the neceſſity of haſtening to oppoſe this army, that had taken footing in the centre of Canara, a kingdom lately ſubjected to him, and which he ſuppoſing, from its ſituation, to be out of the reach of inſult, had not provided with any conſiderable number of troops.

The troops that had been left at Biſnagar, Scirra, and Syringpatnam, received orders to march immediately for the kingdom of Canara. The ſon of Ayder had the advanced guard, at the head of three thouſand cavalry; and Ayder himſelf marched with three thou-

ſand of his grenadiers, part of his artillery, and about twelve hundred of his cavalry, leaving the reſt of his army under the command of Moctum, with injunctions to harraſs the two Engliſh armies for the purpoſe of retarding their operations, but to hazard nothing.

General Smith, as ſoon as he was apprized of the departure of Ayder, propoſed again the ſiege of Benguelour. The council, elated with the high expectations they had built on the news from Mangalor, were for once of his opinion: but as they regarded the ſiege of Benguelour as an affair of the greateſt importance, it was reſolved that Colonel Call, chief engineer, ſhould have the direction; and to emancipate him from the orders of General Smith, it was ordered that there ſhould be a committee in the army, compoſed of the Nabob Mehemet Ali Khan, Colonel Call, and Mr. Mackis; the two laſt being of the council. This committee were, conjointly with General Smith, to decide on all the operations; and in order that ſuch grave perſonages might not have the mortification to fail in an enterprize

prize of ſuch importance for the Engliſh nation, it was determined that the greateſt preparations ſhould be made. In conſequence, they were furniſhed with ſixteen mortars of different calibres, thirty-three two-and-thirty pounders, fifty ſmaller cannon, with a profuſion of powder and ball, and every other ammunition: and ſince all theſe things had a tract of eighty leagues to paſs over before they arrived at Benguelour, and the original difficulty of procuring oxen ſtill remained,—ſeveral ſtations were appointed to be waited at till every thing was in ſufficient forwardneſs to begin the ſiege. General Smith employed himſelf in ſecuring a paſſage for the convoys, by the capture of a number of fortreſſes he found in his way. He even ſucceeded in taking one ſmall place by ſtratagem. His ſcouts had taken an Algara belonging to Moctum, who carried a letter, adviſing the commandant of that place, that at the cloſe of the night he would receive a reinforcement of five hundred Seapoys; at the ſame time informing him, that he was in danger of being beſieged. Ge-

neral Smith having an Algara * who was perfectly acquainted with the court and army of Ayder, gave him the charge of this letter of Moctum, with orders to carry it to the commandant, and aſſure him of the arrival of the ſuccours. The letter produced its deſired effect. At the cloſe of night they received a body of Engliſh Seapoys, who did not fail to take poſſeſſion of the place.

Moctum being informed of this event, had his revenge a few days after, and retook the place by another ſtratagem. He cauſed ſome Indian horſemen to appear on the plain, among whom were a number in blue uniforms, like the Engliſh dragoons. One of them was detached to adviſe the commandant of the place, in good Engliſh, that they were purſued by a large body of Ayder's cavalry, and that he was ſent by the commanding officer of

* All theſe Algaras are Bramins; a circumſtance that ought to diminiſh the idea the Europeans have of theſe men, who are ſuppoſed to be all prieſts and men of learning. They are chiefly employed as couriers or ſpies.

the detachment, to desire the gates might be kept open for their reception. This man was an English dragoon, who had newly deserted with his horse, which prevented any suspicion from arising. A large body of cavalry appeared, and the pretended English detachment came full speed into the place, took possession of one of the gates, and admitted the whole troop. The horsemen in blue were clothed with the habits of Ayder's cannoniers.

Colonel Wood besieging great numbers of places, according to his instructions, found himself very soon in a considerable embarrassment for want of troops. He accordingly wrote to the council at Madras for reinforcements, observing that his troops were dispersed in garrisoning the different places he had taken; adding, that, if it was their pleasure that he should destroy these places instead of garrisoning them, it would be necessary to supply him with a large quantity of powder for that purpose. While he was in expectation of the answer of the council, he besieged Darmapuri, a place somewhat more

conſiderable than thoſe he had hitherto attacked. The commandant was a brave man, named Pinda Khan, highly eſteemed by Ayder, and formerly in the ſervice of the French. This active commander made a vigorous defence, and did not hoiſt the white flag till the breach was made, and the ditch filled. His deputies having waited on Colonel Wood, he offered them no other capitulation than that of ſurrendering at diſcretion. The deputies not being authorized to accept ſuch hard terms, without conſulting the commandant, returned to the place; almoſt all the garriſon being then on the rampart and in the breach. When they ſaw the deputies return, they crowded about them, to enquire what ſucceſs they had met with; and at the ſame inſtant the Engliſh grenadiers leaped out of the trench, mounted the breach, followed by the Seapoys who had been commanded for the aſſault, and all the garriſon, the commandant, his ſon, and every officer, were inhumanly maſſacred; except twelve European cannoniers, who were ſaved by the Engliſh grenadiers. This aſſault was made

while

while the white flag was on the breach. It is reported that Colonel Wood's army was enraged to find no plunder in all the places they had taken: for Ayder had commanded all the inhabitants of any place in danger of being beſieged, to leave the ſame with all their effects; and had ſtrictly forbidden the officers and ſoldiers from having any plate or valuable property, but only the ſmall quantity of linen which is abſolutely neceſſary in India. In this order he obſerved, that the Europeans make war on the Indians only in hopes of plunder; and that it was not proper to indulge their avidity.

It is not eaſy to determine why Colonel Wood and his officers did not repreſs the cruelty of the ſoldiers, ſince they avowed that the grenadiers made this attack without their orders.

To revenge the ſufferers at Damapuri, Moctum afterwards maſſacred a conſiderable body of Seapoys in the plain of Ovilour: and as for Ayder, he conceived ſo violent a hatred for Colonel Wood, that he always afterwards endeavoured, in preference, to attack his army, and to lay ſnares for him;

and it is probable that the conſequences would have been very diſagreeable to that gentleman, if he had unfortunately fallen into the hands of Ayder.

After the capture of Damapuri, Colonel Wood joined his army to that of General Smith, according to the orders he had received from Madras. That general, after ſecuring the paſſage of his convoys, marched towards Benguelour, and took ſeveral neighbouring places: among others were Colar and Oſcota; and with the intention of making this laſt place the ſtorehouſe for the ſiege, he cauſed it to be fortified.

On his approach to Oſcota, General Smith received a deputation from the inhabitants of Divanelli, who came to offer him a contribution. They informed him that the ſmall town, and its forteſs or caſtle, were the places that had the good fortune to ſee the birth of Ayder Ali Khan; a circumſtance that had aſſured them of the favour of that prince, who had beſtowed many privileges on the town and territory. General Smith replied that he ſhould be the firſt in giving the example of

of reſpecting the birth-place of ſo great a ſovereign; and granted ſafe-guards as well for the town as the territory of Divanelli. He refuſed to accept their contribution, and ſtrictly forbade any individual of his army from entering the place without his permiſſion.

This proceeding augmented the eſteem Ayder had long conceived for General Smith: and on this occaſion that ſovereign ſent two ſuperb horſes to him, as a preſent he begged him to accept.

The commander of the army from Bombay, who ſuppoſed, after the capture of Mangalor, that nothing now remained, as he wrote to Madras, but to march to Ayder Nagar, found his expectations not a little abated, when he was informed that he had ſixty leagues to travel in a country interſected by woods, mountains, and rivers, and more eſpecially that the approach to Nagar would be attended with the greateſt difficulty. He did not, however, give up his intention; but continued his preparations, though very ſlowly. His army was then encamped without

out the gates of Mangalour, in the greateſt ſecurity.

The ſon of Ayder marched from Benguelour with all the ardour of a young man, who burns with a deſire for glory. He quickly arrived in the kingdom of Canara, whoſe people, alarmed, but full of confidence in the ſon of their king, ran before him as to the man on whom their ſafety depended. Animated by the acclamations of the people, the young prince continued his way to Mangalor, cauſing all the troops to follow him that he found in his way, and who aſſembled from all parts. His march was ſo rapid, and the fidelity of the Canarins was ſuch, that he came in ſight of the Engliſh camp before they had received any advice. He perceived the tumult and fear his ſudden appearance had made. Without waiting for repoſe after his fatiguing march, he advanced, drove back the guards, attacked the army, totally routed and purſued them to the gates of Mangalor, where his cavalry entered pell-mell with the fugitives. Three thouſand infantry, juſt come up, were aſtoniſhed to find the

the Engliſh camp abandoned. They plundered the camp and the town of every thing they found; which the prince allowed, to puniſh the inhabitants for refuſing to aſſiſt in the defence of the city. The route of this Engliſh army was ſo great, that very few had time to make their eſcape on board the ſhips, to which they communicated their fears. Their flight added to the ardour of Ayder's Europeans and Seapoys, who immediately embarked and took three tranſports.

In this manner was the whole Engliſh army taken, conſiſting of the general, forty-ſix officers, ſix hundred and eighty Engliſh troops, and above ſix thouſand Seapoys, together with all their arms and baggage. This glorious event for Ayder happened the eighth day after the capture of Mangalor. It is difficult to conceive how a victory of this nature could be gained; or how, during the ſpace of thirty days, the Engliſh general could neglect the taking poſſeſſion of ſome advanced poſts, which would have given him advice of the approach of the enemy.

Ayder

Ayder arrived the evening after the victory; and his ſon had nothing to ſay but, with Cæſar, *veni, vidi, vici.* It is ſaid he wept for joy when he embraced his ſon. Some Portugueſe merchants, eſtabliſhed for ſeveral generations at Mangalor, entertained the opinion, that from the fortunate diſembarkment of the Engliſh army, and the great ſucceſſes that the Engliſh attributed to General Smith and Colonel Wood, it was probable that the Engliſh would conquer the greateſt part of Ayder's dominions, or at leaſt remain maſters of Mangalor. They had therefore the imprudence to treat with the Engliſh general, and to contract with him for ſupplying the army with proviſions. As ſoon as Ayder was informed of this circumſtance, he cauſed theſe merchants to appear before him, with the chief of the Portugueſe factory, and ſeveral Chriſtian prieſts belonging to the three churches at Mangalor. He then demanded of the Portugueſe chief and the prieſts, what puniſhment the Chriſtians inflict on thoſe who ſhould preſume to betray their ſovereign, by giving aſſiſtance to his enemies. The Portu-

gueſe

gueſe officer having without heſitation anſwered, that ſuch a crime deſerved death; Ayder replied, "I do not judge in that manner, for our laws are milder. Since they have made themſelves Engliſh by engaging to ſerve them, their property ſhall be adjudged to belong to Engliſhmen; and themſelves ſhall be thrown into priſon till I make peace with that nation." Ayder, after this deciſion, haſtened to return to the kingdom of Benguelour, taking care to leave a ſtrong garriſon at Mangalor.

During Ayder's expedition and return, General Smith had ſufficient time to receive his artillery and ammunition. Mehemet Ali, and the other commiſſioners of the council, were likewiſe arrived with a numerous ſuite, and with a new kind of luxury, unknown till then even in the armies of the Indians: this, however, conſiſted in nothing elſe than a number of large covered waggons, loaded with a proviſion of all ſorts of wines. But after all theſe preparations, it was diſcovered that the rice and proviſions were in ſo ſmall a quantity, that they could not poſſibly hold out the

the time the ſiege might probably laſt; while Ayder and his troops would not fail to recover part of the fortreſſes that were to ſecure the convoys from the country of Arcot. And it was, beſides, impoſſible to ſend eſcorts ſtrong enough to defend them againſt the army of Ayder; General Smith having need of all his troops, as well for the ſiege, as for the defence of Oſcota, where his ſtores were depoſited, and to keep an open communication between the two places.

Morarao propoſed to make the ſiege of Ciota Ballapour, otherwiſe Little Ballapour, a ſtrong fortreſs about ten leagues from Benguelour, and three leagues from the country of the Patane Nabobs; as he affirmed that, when they were maſters of Ballapour, he could obtain, either from his own dominions, or from Sanour and the neighbouring countries, any quantity of rice or ſheep that they might deſire. This advice being approved of by the committee, General Smith left Oſcota with his army, and every neceſſary for making the ſiege of Ballapour. He left a ſtrong garriſon in Oſcota,

where

where Mehemet Ali Khan, Colonel Call, and Mr. Mackis were to remain.

Ayder, who had followed General Smith, and continually harraſſed him with his cavalry and ſometimes with his artillery, perceived that he could not prevent his opening his trenches before Ballapour: he therefore raiſed his camp, and marched for Oſcota, where he arrived a little before day. As ſoon as dawn appeared, he attacked and carried the ſuburb of the place, which was defended by a ſingle retrenchment of earth, and a ditch the Engliſh had made: he took a conſiderable number of ſoldiers and Seapoys the Engliſh had placed in an hoſpital there; and, deſirous of intimidating Mehemet Ali Khan, whoſe puſillanimous character he was well apprized of, he ordered his troops to prepare ladders for ſcaling the ramparts of the place, himſelf animating and giving money to the workmen, and promiſing the higheſt rewards to his army if the town ſhould be taken, and Mehemet Ali Khan made priſoner. The view of all theſe preparations, and the reports of ſome priſoners who were ſuffered to

eſcape for that purpoſe, terrified Mehemet Ali Khan in ſuch a manner, that, in ſpite of every thing that Colonel Call could urge, it was decided that an order ſhould be ſent to General Smith, to raiſe the ſiege of Ballapour, which was already far advanced, and come to the relief of Oſcota. The general, to whom the danger of Oſcota had been magnified, was obliged to comply with this order, though ſo very prejudicial to his operations. Mehemet Ali Khan was encouraged by the return of General Smith; but was determined to run no more riſk of falling into the hands of Ayder, but to return without delay to Madras. Colonel Call's colleague was of the ſame opinion; and General Smith alone not being a committee of the council, was obliged to follow them; and that more eſpecially, as nothing leſs than his whole army was neceſſary to eſcort them. They were under the neceſſity, at their departure, of leaving at Oſcota all that immenſe quantity of artillery and ammunition that was intended to overthrow Benguelour.

Ayder

Ayder gave himſelf very little trouble to retake the number of places that were garriſoned by the Engliſh, but contented himſelf with following their army, and harraſſing it; which he did in ſo vigorous a manner, that the terror of Mehemet Ali was not a little augmented.

It was during the time that General Smith marched againſt Ballapour, that Ayder had the ſatisfaction of beholding the return of his brother-in-law, Mirza Ali Khan, whoſe defection had ſo ſenſibly afflicted him. This young man, whether from the natural goodneſs of his heart, or from the contempt ſhewn him by Madurao, the Maratta general, and the other chiefs of that nation,—was continually agitated by remorſe for his paſt conduct; and had long reflected on the means of regaining the friendſhip of his brother-in-law. But when he ſaw him abandoned by Nizam, attacked by General Smith on the ſide of Benguelour, and obliged to haſten with his ſon to defend the centre of his dominions, attacked by another Engliſh army; when he reflected that all the misfortunes of his brother-

in-law, the friend and protector of his youth, might with juſtice be attributed to his ingratitude, his remorſe was too keen to admit of longer deliberation. He made levies of troops, quickly placed himſelf at the head of twenty thouſand men, and traverſing the kingdoms of Scirra and Mayſſour, arrived within two leagues of Ayder's camp. Attended by a few horſemen, he advanced to the outpoſts, where he announced his name, and requeſted to ſpeak with Moctum. Moctum, aſtoniſhed at ſo unexpected a meſſage, haſtened to meet him. "What has brought you here?" demanded Moctum with an earneſt emotion, when he ſaw the young prince. — "Repentance," replied Mirza; "I come to repair as much as is in my power the injury I have done to our brother. I bring a much better army than I deprived him of; and I offer my head to his mercy: bring me to him." It was in vain that Moctum repreſented that it would be proper to adviſe Ayder of his arrival.— "No," exclaimed Mirza; "bring me to my injured brother: I fear no conſequences but thoſe of not ſeeing him." Moctum told him

him to follow him, and they ſoon arrived at the tent of Ayder. The young prince threw himſelf at Ayder's feet, who raiſed him, and embracing him—"This is no ſurprize to me, Mirza," ſaid Ayder; "I have long expected thee." The two armies joined; and every one eſteemed this return of Mirza as a happy preſage of the return of Ayder's good fortune.

Ayder, after following the army of General Smith as far as Vailour, changed entirely his manner of making war. He divided his cavalry into three bodies; of which he himſelf took one, and gave the command of the other two to Moctum and Mirza, his brothers-in-law: he kept no other troops but his grenadiers, his Caleros, and Carnates, which he likewiſe divided into three, between himſelf and his brothers-in-law, ſo as to form three flying camps. Theſe light armies traverſed the whole country, ſpreading terror and diſorder every where, and throwing the council and all the Engliſh ſettlements into the greateſt conſternation. This was a ſubject of great pleaſantry and ſatisfaction to all the

other Europeans in India, moſt of whom they had inſulted in the ſhort period of their proſperity *. By their quick movements the three armies ſeemed to be multiplied; and the news of their appearance arriving from all parts, it was impoſſible to determine which way to face; and General Smith's army made a number of uſeleſs movements, that harraſſed his troops without finding the enemy.

The council determining to divide their army after the manner of Ayder, a body of troops under Colonel Frichman, a Swiſs, who had never yet been engaged in ſervice againſt the Nabob, was entirely cut off; he himſelf,

* They had demanded that the French deſerters, who had arrived at Pondicherry, ſhould be given up, together with the horſes they had ſtolen from Ayder.

They had threatened the government of Tranquebar; and had forced them to give up an emiſſary they had ſent to entice away the men of their garriſon.

They had compelled the governor of Paliacate, a Dutch fort, to deliver up a Frenchman who had taken refuge in that fortreſs, and had obtained their protection.

as

as it is ſaid, alone eſcaping by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe. This colonel was marching in a plain, ſurrounded on three ſides with wood: his army, at moſt about four thouſand men, of which ſix hundred were Europeans, marched in a long column, when ſome horſemen appeared at the bottom of the plain. Several of the officers repreſented to the colonel, that Ayder's cavalry was habituated to make ſudden attacks at full ſpeed; and that it would be proper to cloſe the column, and approach the wood, in order to ſupport themſelves againſt it. The colonel laughed at this advice: "Be eaſy," ſaid he, "you ſhall ſee how I will ſerve theſe Negroes." The number of horſemen increaſing, and no one daring to ſpeak to the colonel, all on a ſudden a cloud of duſt appeared: the colonel then attempted to give his orders, but there was no time. Three thouſand horſemen fell on his little army, and every thing was in diſorder in an inſtant. The colonel, in the general confuſion, haſtened to fly: he was purſued, and the goodneſs of his horſe alone preſerved him. Moctum, enraged at the maſ-

ſacre of Darmapuri, ſuffered his horſemen to act with unreſtrained fury. Above fifty Engliſh officers were ſlain, or made priſoners. Captain R—— *, who had ſurrendered Vaniambari, and had engaged not to ſerve for a year, was taken. It was more than ten months that he had ſigned the capitulation. He was, as it were, compelled by the governor of Madras to go with his garriſon of Seapoys to garriſon in Madura, and was on his march with Colonel Frichman. Moctum, on whom theſe reaſons made no impreſſion, having found him marching in the body of the army, cauſed him to be hung on a tree, after having refuſed the other officers the permiſſion to aſk his life of Ayder. All theſe events happened in 1768.

In 1769, Ayder, on his ſide, being employed in following Colonel Wood, who commanded a body of ſeven or eight thouſand men, and being very near Thiagar, ſucceeded in falling upon his rear-guard, and forced him

* A colonel of Seapoys ranks as captain of Europeans.

to

to retire into a wood. This colonel was then endeavouring to throw a garriſon into a place named Elvaniſſour. The commandant he had nominated was the captain who ſtood firſt in the order of ſeniority; a brave man, but ſubject to the vice of drinking to ſuch an exceſs, as often to render him incapable of giving any orders: however, not to diſgrace him, and with the perſuaſion that Ayder would never undertake the ſiege, Colonel Wood ſuffered him to poſſeſs the charge. It ſo happened, notwithſtanding, that the Nabob came before the place with ſome cavalry, a few hundred grenadiers, and ſome ſmall pieces of cannon, without either the means or the intention of making a ſiege. The captain commandant, abſolutely intoxicated, mounted his horſe, cauſed the gate to be opened, and rode directly towards Ayder's troops, demanding to ſee the Nabob. Being conducted to the prince, he repreſented to him that he was governor of the place, and regarded it as an honour to be beſieged by ſo great a ſovereign; that he hoped to deſerve his applauſe by making a brave defence; but that he and his garriſon

having neither wine nor arrack, he had come, in reliance on his great reputation, to beg he would either give or ſell them a proviſion of both, that they might be enabled by their brave defence to give him a new occaſion of acquiring glory. Ayder, ſuppoſing him to be inſane, and not believing him to be the governor of the place, promiſed to ſupply him with wine and arrack, preſenting him with various ſorts to taſte; ſo that the captain in a ſhort time was under the neceſſity of being carried to bed. While he ſlept off his wine, he was ſhewn to ſeveral people of the town, and they all knew him. On his waking he was informed, that, as he had entered their camp as a ſpy, it was a decided thing that he ſhould be hanged; but that, if he was really governor of the place, he might give an order to ſurrender it to Ayder, it being left to his choice, either to give the order or to be hanged. The poor man obeyed, and ſigned the order; and, what is ſtill more extraordinary, the commanding officer under him obeyed the order, and opened the gates. In this manner Ayder took a place, with a

regiment

regiment of Seapoys, by the ignorance of him who obeyed the order, by the drunkenneſs of him who gave it, and ſtill more by the imprudence of Colonel Wood. During the time theſe affairs were tranſacting, the ſon of Ayder and Mirz Feſoulla Khan, under whoſe command the greateſt part of the infantry and artillery were, buſied themſelves in retaking thoſe places the Engliſh had garriſoned; and in fact they retook them all, except Oſcota, in which were a ſtrong garriſon, and a fine train of artillery, that Ayder hoped to obtain by a treaty of peace.

While the ravages, the ſucceſs, and the rapid movements of the Nabob held the governor and council in perplexity, a veſſel arrived from England with Mr. Dupré, ancient counſellor of Madras, and eſteemed a man of great ſenſe and underſtanding. He was ſent out to take the government of that place on the firſt of January 1770, and arrived early in March 1769. He had orders for the governor and council of Madras to make peace on any terms.

The

The Company were weary of attending to the flattering hopes of conqueſts that were promiſed in the letters from Madras. Inſtead of the diamonds and treaſures of Ayder, they ſaw nothing arrive from Madras but bills of exchange, drawn on them by the government of that place: they therefore thought it their intereſt to make peace with Ayder at any price, if for no other reaſon than to prevent the fall of their ſtock. But it is the great defect of all companies, that even their moſt eſſential deliberations cannot be kept ſecret. The reſolution that any power takes to ſolicit peace, ought above all things to be concealed; and the axiom, *Si vis pacem, para bellum*, deſerves the utmoſt attention. The Company's envoy ſignified and declared, that a meſſenger muſt be diſpatched to Ayder to requeſt peace. The perſon charged with this miſſion received for anſwer, "I am coming to the gates of Madras, and I will there liſten to the propoſitions the governor and council may have to make." This anſwer was taken for a declaration, that the Nabob was determined to beſiege the town. Preparations were conſequently

quently made, and orders given to the two armies to unite and encamp near Madras.

Ayder Ali Khan continuing his movements, came near Pondicherry and Godelour, and advanced as far as Collentz, ſeven leagues from Madras on the Pondicherry road. The Engliſh army prepared to defend the paſſage of the river of St. Thomas, when Ayder ſuddenly diſappeared, and while all the world was at a loſs to determine where he was, he all at once ſhewed himſelf at the gates of Madras on the Paliacat ſide, and diſpatched a flag of truce to demand what propoſitions they had to make. The whole town was inſtantly in an alarm, the Engliſh army being a league and half on the other ſide. The council deputed Meſſrs. Dupré and Boſchier, the one appointed governor for the year 1770, and the other brother to the then governor. They were received with great politeneſs. A ſuſpenſion of arms was agreed on for the environs of Madras only. Ayder promiſed to eſtabliſh his quarters on St. Thomas's mount; and on the 15th of April 1769, two treaties were ſigned to the following effect:

In

In the firſt, which is in the name of the king of England, it is agreed, that there ſhall be peace and friendſhip between George III. king of Great Britain, &c. and Ayder Ali Khan Suba of Scirra, &c. and their reſpective ſubjects; that all the priſoners ſhall be given up on both ſides; and that there ſhall be an abſolute liberty of commerce between the ſubjects, and in all the dominions, of the two ſovereigns, in the ſame manner as before the commencement of hoſtilities.

The ſecond treaty between Ayder and Mehemet Ali Khan implied, firſt, that Mehemet Ali Khan ſhould immediately evacuate the town and fortreſs of Oſcota, which ſhould remain in the ſame ſtate as at the ſigning of the treaty; that all the artillery, arms, and ammunition whatſoever ſhould be delivered to Ayder *; and the garriſon ſhould retire into the country of Arcot by the

* The ſtate of the artillery and ammunition has been given in a former page. It may here be added, that ſix thouſand firelocks were alſo found in the place.

ſhorteſt

ſhorteſt road. Secondly, That Mehemet Ali Khan ſhould annually pay a tribute of ſix lacks of rupees, of which the firſt year's revenue ſhould be paid down. Thirdly, That all the families of the princes, and other perſons of diſtinction, formerly eſtabliſhed in the country of Arcot, and then priſoners, ſhould be ſet at large, and be at liberty to reſide where they pleaſed.

The other articles of this treaty are not intereſting.

The Engliſh Company engaged themſelves for the performance of this, and promiſed to preſent Ayder Ali Khan with a fifty-gun ſhip *, inſtead of that which had been ſeized at Bombay, and was become unfit for ſervice. The Company likewiſe engaged to ſupply Ayder with twelve hundred Europeans to ſerve in his army as often as he ſhould demand it. An engagement of the ſame nature

* This ſhip was given in 1772 or 1773. It is ſaid that it was a new ſhip, finely painted and gilt, with all its cannon of braſs; but that it was built in ſuch a manner, as to be unfit for any uſe but parade in a harbour.

was

was already ſubſiſting between the Company and Nizam Daulla, Suba of Decan.

The council of Madras made the moſt ſuperb preſents to Ayder; and that prince, in return, preſented them with much more valuable effects, both in gold and ſilver. The two treaties were made to ſave the honour of the king and Engliſh nation; and conſequently the firſt treaty only was made public by authority. But as there is always an oppoſition wherever there is an Engliſh government, the ſecond treaty was ſoon made public in England and elſewhere; with ſuch annotations as the intereſts or opinions of individuals might lead them to make.

Colonel Call, the principal author of the laſt war, was one of thoſe who moſt formally oppoſed the preſent treaty. General Smith, who had given his opinion for peace whenever Ayder propoſed it, being perſuaded that it might be concluded on with credit to his country, was, however, againſt the preſent peace. He urged, that it was out of the power of Ayder to do any future injury to the Engliſh, ſince it was in his power to pre-

vent that Nabob from undertaking any ſiege: and he added, that there was no doubt but Ayder would be the firſt to give up a war he could not continue with any advantage; more eſpecially as his truce with the Marattas expired at the end of the current year; and the prince was too intelligent not to be deſirous of finiſhing the preſent war before he engaged in another. So that by holding out a ſhort time longer, and refuſing his propoſitions with the ſame haughtineſs as they were made with, he would be forced to recur to thoſe he had made after the ſiege of Ambour. To all theſe reaſons he joined, that, in ſigning a ſhameful treaty with Ayder, they would diſhonour the Engliſh name, that had never yet received a blemiſh in any of their wars with the Indians.

We ſhall finiſh the hiſtory of this war by deſcribing a print, that ſhews, with conſiderable accuracy, the different ſentiments of thoſe who were then at the head of the Madras government.

There was fixed to the gate of Fort St. George, called the Royal Gate, a deſign, in which

which was ſeen Ayder Ali Khan ſeated under a canopy, upon a pile of cannon; Mr. Dupré and the other ambaſſador being on their knees before him. Ayder held in his right hand the noſe * of Mr. Dupré, drawn in the form of an elephant's trunk, which he ſhook for the purpoſe of making him vomit guineas and pagodas, that were ſeen iſſuing from the mouth of this plenipotentiary. In the back ground appeared Fort St. George; and on one of the baſtions, the governor and council were drawn on their knees, holding out their hands to the Nabob. On one ſide of the council, was a large maſtiff growling at Ayder, the letters J. C. (for John Call) being marked on his collar; and behind the maſtiff ſtood a little French dog, buſily employed licking his poſteriors. This laſt animal was adorned with a ſtar, ſuch as the Chevalier de Chriſt, Colonel Call's confidant, wore. At a diſtance were ſeen the Engliſh camp, and General Smith holding

* This gentleman is dignified with a noſe of an enormous magnitude.

the

the treaty of peace in his hand, and breaking his ſword.

By this peace, Ayder Ali Khan glorioufly finiſhed a war, which all India ſuppoſed would terminate in his ruin.

When Ayder quitted Madras, he marched by the way of Oſcota and Benguelour, to diſpoſe of all the artillery and ammunition which the garriſon of the former place were commanded to deliver to him. After taking poſſeſſion of the whole, he diſperſed his troops into good quarters, that they might refreſh themſelves, and be of good ſervice to him in the approaching war with the Marattas, which he knew to be inevitable.

The Marattas ſuppoſe they have a legitimate right to one fifth part of the revenue of certain parts of Indoſtan, by virtue of a gift made them by Aurengzebe. Ayder, as we have already obſerved *, does not acknowledge this claim. He gives money to the Marattas when the neceſſity of his affairs does not permit him to refuſe it; but he

* See the note, vol. i. p. 192.

never makes any other treaty with them than a truce for three years, not chuſing to own the legitimacy of their demand; and the Marattas themſelves are better ſatisfied with this mode of adjuſtment, than to continue the war at the riſque of being forced to abandon their claim.

Madurao, who was not then arrived at his two-and-twentieth year, and already poſſeſſed all the qualities that form the hero, was far from wiſhing to conſent to any thing that could prejudice the honour and intereſts of his nation. He burned with the deſire of oppoſing himſelf alone againſt Ayder. In conſequence of the different ſentiments of the two warriors, the greateſt preparations were made on both ſides; and the Marattas, as uſual, came into the field in November, and approached Scirra in the month of December. They found Ayder Ali Khan encamped near that city; and in ſpite of all the ardour and courage of Madurao, the poſition of the Nabob appeared ſo reſpectable that he durſt not attack him. But the Marattas being in poſſeſſion of Maggheri and Mark Scirra, places acquired

acquired by the defection of Mirza, had the facility to ſpread themſelves in the plain of Mayſſour. Ayder was obliged to follow them, and to encamp on the iſland of Syringpatnam, which he had newly fortified, and put under the command of Mirr Feſoulla Khan, with a good body of infantry. As he returned from Scirra by Biſnagar, and kept near the mountains that cover the kingdom of Canara, he covered that kingdom, and could not be ſurrounded in his march to Syringpatnam, though the Marattas harraſſed him continually.

Very early in the year 1770, Ayder arrived in the iſland, and was in perfect ſecurity from the Marattas. He ſuffered them to traverſe the country, which he had not laid waſte as he did when their nation had joined the Engliſh and Nizam Ali. He had no apprehenſion that the Marattas would employ themſelves in ſieges like the Engliſh; and he relied on the generoſity of Madurao, whom he knew to be incapable of deſtroying for the ſole pleaſure of doing miſchief; that general ſuffering his

troops only to forage, and plunder the flat country, according to their cuſtom.

The Maratta army was compoſed of two hundred thouſand men, of which above one hundred thouſand were cavalry. Againſt ſuch an army Ayder riſqued much if he loſt a battle, and could gain little by deſtroying a part of them. The Nabob therefore continued in his camp, notwithſtanding many feints and temptations that were held out to him by the Maratta general. At length this young warrior pretended to retire, and take the road to the kingdom of Benguelour. Ayder thought he might with advantage follow the enemy in a country that was very favourable to his infantry, who were much ſuperior to thoſe of Madurao. He had already marched nine leagues, and hoped that very evening to gain a covered country, where it would be in his power to gain advantageous poſitions, as well for the purpoſe of harraſſing the Marattas in his turn, as for the eaſy ſubſiſtence of his army. But the Marattas having briſkly returned, obliged him to encamp in a place, where

where indeed he was in no danger of being attacked, but where the enemy entirely inveſted him, and cut off his communication and means of ſubſiſtence from all ſides; ſo that he was obliged to quit his camp, and retire towards Syringpatnam. The Maratta army appeared to direct their care and attention to prevent him from following the road to the kingdom of Benguelour and the neighbouring mountains, while they left the road to Syringpatnam free. Ayder chuſing the night, as the moſt favourable to his infantry, depoſited the greateſt part of his artillery and baggage in a fortreſs, againſt which he had pitched his camp *; and at about eleven at night he began his march in a ſquare battalion. His infantry was formed into two columns, and his cavalry at the head and rear cloſed the ſquare, in the centre of which was the baggage, and the artillery at each end.

* The Author of the preſent Hiſtory was in India at the time of this event; but was not a witneſs of this ſtratagem of the Marattas. He gives the recital as he had it from an officer of diſtinction in Ayder's army on the ſpot.

This order of marching did not admit of much expedition; but he had already advanced more than three leagues by four in the morning, when it appeared that they were not purſued, and that probably the Maratta army was unapprized of their march. There were not then more than two leagues to be traverſed, before they would arrive at a camp where they might ſafely remain till night; and one ſingle night would have been ſufficient to have brought them to Syringpatnam. Every one ſuppoſed that nothing was to be feared, when a numerous corps of cavalry, conſiſting of about twelve thouſand horſe, appeared drawn up in order of battle, not behind them as expected, but in front to oppoſe their march. Ayder ordered the march to be continued, making uſe of the artillery only to oblige the enemy's cavalry to give way. The cannonade appeared to ſucceed, and the army marched forward, though ſlowly; when at day-break the whole Maratta cavalry appeared, and in a ſhort time ſurrounded Ayder's army. The enemy made ſeveral charges, which were well ſuſtained and repulſed: but

Mirza,

Mirza, who commanded the cavalry in the van, ſuffered himſelf to be hurried away by his eagerneſs to follow the enemy he had repulſed. He quickly attempted to return, for fear of leaving the infantry without defence; but the cavalry he purſued were cloſe at his heels, and entered the battalion with him. In an inſtant every thing is in the greateſt diſorder; the army is beaten and diſperſed; Ayder Ali Khan is himſelf wounded, and many of his friends ſlain, and among others Ali Jami Khan, Nabob of Vendevachi. Almoſt all the troops threw down their arms. A ſingle battalion of grenadier Topaſſes formed themſelves into a cloſe column, and made way by their fire to an eminence, where their commander * died of his wounds. This battalion

* He was a native of Weſtphalia, who had acquired almoſt all the languages of India. The Author of this Hiſtory took him into his ſervice as an interpreter. He was afterwards made captain of grenadier Topaſſes, at the formation of that body of troops. He died glorioufly at the head of his battalion.

talion was led to Syringpatnam by a young officer, who was wounded in the ſhoulder, and was the only ſurviving officer of the corps.

Ayder, after running the greateſt riſques, arrived at his camp with the entire loſs of his army, artillery, baggage, ammunition, and colours. As it is not cuſtomary in India to make priſoners of common ſoldiers, or even ſubaltern officers, the greateſt part returned to him, though without horſes or arms; but, by means of his reſources, Ayder eſtabliſhed his army, in a ſhort time, in a better ſtate than before. It will ſcarcely be credited that he purchaſed again of the Marattas themſelves the greateſt part of the arms and horſes they had taken from him: but this ariſes from the nature of their government, which is purely feodal, every man having a right to diſpoſe of his ſhare of the plunder as he thinks proper.

lion. His name was Lené. —— The young officer is a Malteſe; his name is Mammou. The Author introduced him to Ayder.

Madurao,

Madurao, however, embraced this occaſion to begin the formation of a body of Seapoys, with the muſquets that fell to his ſhare after the defeat of Ayder's army.

Many French officers lately arrived were preſent at this battle, ſimply as volunteers: they were almoſt all wounded, and one was killed. M. Hughel, who had formerly ſerved Ayder as commander of the French cavalry from Pondicherry, was wounded, and afterwards died at Tranquebar in conſequence of his wounds.

There were likewiſe ſeveral Engliſh officers preſent; and among them Colonel Stewart, who arreſted Lord Pigot, and who was reported to have been ſlain in the preſent war, in the firſt battle between Ayder and General Coote.

After this battle Ayder kept conſtantly within his camp at Syringpatnam; and the greater number of the Maratta chiefs having left the army, on account of their ſix months ſervice being expired, Madurao renewed the truce with Ayder, who was obliged to open his purſe upon the occaſion, though he had promiſed

promiſed himſelf the contrary. This truce was made in July 1771; but it was for no more than a year.

Mirza Ali Khan, who, as we have obſerved, was the cauſe of the loſs of this battle, was taken priſoner, and conducted to Madurao, who addreſſed him thus, "Since you have made war upon us with the power we have given you, we ſhould act properly if we were to take every thing from you, and confine you for life; yet, however, if you will ſwear never to bear arms againſt the Marattas, I will reſtore your dominions and your liberty." Mirza took the oath without heſitation; and Madurao having ſet him at liberty, he departed to his ſmall ſtate, where he made an abſolute donation of all his property, dominions, and troops to his brother-in-law Ayder; and a few days after became a Fakir, which in Perſian ſignifies a mendicant, a man who voluntarily embraces poverty.—This claſs of men make no vows, in which reſpect they differ from monks, who cannot quit their ſtate; neither do they, like them, live in communities. He wrote to his brother-

brother-in-law the reaſons that induced him to take this reſolution, informing him that he ſaw no other means of preſerving what he had conſecrated to his ſervice; and aſſuring him that if circumſtances ſhould in future point out occaſions for him to be uſeful, he ſhould always be ready, however dangerous the ſervice. And, in fact, when Ayder is at war with any other enemies than the Marattas, Mirza takes arms and follows the camp, as he does in the preſent war againſt the Engliſh.

Ayder employed this ſhort time in producing diviſions among the Marattas; and from thence aroſe the cataſtrophe that deprived young Madurao of life, to the extreme grief of Ayder.

Raguba, uncle of Madurao, having performed the functions of general during the minority of his nephew, beheld himſelf, not without great pain, reduced to the ſtate of an individual, after he had ſecured the dignity that devolved of courſe to his nephew. During his regency he had filled all India with his fame, and obliged the emperor of the Mogols

gols to fly from Dehli, his capital, which he had deſtroyed and plundered in ſuch a manner as perhaps never to recover its former ſplendour; while the emperor himſelf, by that event, became reduced to a mere phantom, poſſeſſing no more than the ſhadow of the power, the riches, and the grandeur of the ancient emperors.

Madurao, young, ambitious, and elated with his increaſing reputation, diſdained to liſten to the counſels of his uncle Raguba and the other chiefs of his party, which induced the old general to contrive plots for his deſtruction. Madurao having determined to carry the war into the environs of Dehli, and on the Ganges, found much oppoſition in the national council: his opinion however prevailed, and he marched with a powerful army at the end of November 1772, leaving a conſiderable force in the hands of a Maratta general, named Goupalrao, to carry on the war with Ayder Ali Khan. The army of this general was not at all comparable to that of Madurao when he made war in Mayſſour; he therefore ſuffered Ayder to recover Mark

Scirra

Scirra and Maggheri, which produced a ſuſpicion that he was either intimidated by the arms, or gained by the bribes, of that potentate.

Madurao did not meet with all the ſucceſs in the north of Indoſtan that he had expected, and marched his army back into the Maratta country. During his march there were many ſeditions among his troops, moſt probably in conſequence of a plot contrived againſt the young prince: he was found aſſaſſinated in his tent in the year 1773, before his arrival at Poni, the uſual reſidence of the general of the Marattas. As he left only one ſon, an infant, his uncle Raguba aſſumed the regency by his own proper authority. The cruel and unexpected death of the young Madurao, who was beloved by his ſoldiers, gave riſe to ſuſpicions among the principal chiefs that Raguba was either the author or accomplice of the aſſaſſination of his nephew. A conſpiracy almoſt univerſal being formed againſt him, he attempted to collect and form an army of the troops in which he could place moſt confidence; but he had ſcarcely began his

his march againſt his enemies, when the greateſt part of his ſoldiers left him. Perceiving himſelf abandoned, he had only time to take refuge among the Engliſh at Bombay, who received him with open arms, and promiſed him aſſiſtance. In return for this ſupport, he thought proper to make a treaty, by which he granted very advantageous conceſſions to the Engliſh nation; and among others, never to demand the Chotay, or one fifth part of the revenue of all the lands the Engliſh might poſſeſs in Indoſtan.

On the news of this treaty being forwarded to the government at Bengal, General Goddard was diſpatched from the banks of the Ganges with an army of eight thouſand men, twelve hundred being Europeans. With this force he croſſed the peninſula, marching about ſix hundred leagues, in ſpite of all the petty princes whoſe dominions he traverſed, and at length arrived at the banks of the Sindi or Indus. He found that the Marattas, after having ſurrounded the Bombay forces commanded by the governor of that iſland, had forced him to capitulate; and that the

governor had promiſed to abandon Raguba, to interfere no more in the affairs of the Maratta nation, and had annulled the treaty made with the fugitive general. This laſt event happened in 1774.

General Goddard, without waiting for any orders, declared the capitulation, as well as the conſequent treaty ſigned by the governor of Bombay, to be null and void. Thus the war commenced again; and this general, who if he had belonged to any other power would have been criminated, had the good fortune to ſee his audacity crowned by many victories, which however finiſhed by obliging him to act only on the defenſive, his ſucceſſes even deſtroying his army, and the Marattas ſeeming to multiply in conſequence of their defeats; becauſe they were defending their own homes, and their country is exceeding populous.

Ayder, who, as we have before obſerved, had fomented the troubles that agitated the Maratta nation, took, at the beginning, the part of Raguba (which aſſuredly he would not

not have done, if he had had only that war to ſupport). In conſequence of this proceeding, after the defeat of the regent and the Bombay army, ſeveral Maratta chiefs, who ſupported the party of Raguba, and among them Goupalrao, were forced to throw themſelves into his protection. He furniſhed them with troops, and taking advantage of the diſtraction of the Maratta nation, in conſequence of the victories of General Goddard, he took a number of their ſtrong places, which now form a ſecond barrier beyond Scirra, Maggheri, and Mark Scirra. Though the greateſt number of theſe places are of great ſtrength, and advantageouſly poſted, yet the moſt part were taken by ſimple blockade; which occaſioned Ayder to employ ſeveral years in this war. He did not think proper to take more vigorous meaſures, for fear of obliging the Maratta nation to accommodate their difference with the Engliſh; which, however, was a very difficult thing to be brought about, on account of the horror and averſion that people had conceived againſt Raguba.

In

In the year 1775, Ayder, profiting by the employment the Engliſh gave the Marattas in the defence of their own poſſeſſions, embraced the opportunity of ſending a ſmall army, under Cina Serrao, a Maratta lord, who had ſerved him from his infancy, to puniſh the Samorin, and other princes of the Malabar coaſt. This prince refuſed to pay the tribute he had conſented to give, when Ayder, in 1767, reſtored his dominions. The Samorin, fearing the anger of the Nabob, thought to ſecure himſelf by offering to become a vaſſal to the crown of France. The commandant of Mahé accepted the gift of the Samorin, and came with a few troops to take poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of Calicut, where he hoiſted the French ſtandard. This was a moſt imprudent and inconſiderate ſtep, for many reaſons.

Firſt, the commandant of Mahé had not forces ſufficient to ſuſtain the conſequences of this act; the number of troops on the Mahé eſtabliſhment not being more than one hundred and fifty men.

Secondly, he ought not to have made an agreement in the name of the French king, without firſt being authorized by the commandant general of the French eſtabliſhments in India.

Thirdly, he could not but know that Ayder Ali Khan was reputed the natural ally of France; and that the Nabob had claims on the whole country of the Nayres, by an authentic treaty, concluded by the mediation of his predeceſſor at Mahé.

Cina Serrao, Ayder's general, paid all the reſpect to the French colours which his poſitive orders to take poſſeſſion of Calicut permitted him to ſhew. But he gave advice to his maſter of all that had paſſed; and the latter having written to the commandant-general at Pondicherry, the commandant at Mahé was recalled, and Ayder's troops took poſſeſſion of Calicut, which, as well as the reſt of the Malabar coaſt, has ever ſince remained under the power of that prince.

Ayder being informed, in the month of Auguſt 1778, that hoſtilities had commenced between England and France, made a truce

of

of ſix years with the Marattas, by which they ſuffered him to retain all his conqueſts. The time required for the concluſion of this treaty, and the great diſtance between the Maratta frontier and the Nabobſhip of Arcot, did not permit Ayder to arrive in time to prevent the capture of Pondicherry, which ſurrendered in the month of October. The Nabob not having arrived on the frontiers before the month of November, laid ſiege to Chiteldrouc, whoſe lord or Paleagar being a vaſſal of Mayſſour, was encouraged by the promiſe of ſupport from the Engliſh to refuſe obedience to the orders of Ayder. This place ſurrendered at the beginning of January 1779. During the ſiege, Ayder announced to all India the project he had formed of attacking the Engliſh. His principal invitation was to induce Nizam Daulla to attack them to the north of Mazulipatnam, in order to recover the four provinces they had extorted from him. The Suba promiſed to make the attack that was propoſed to him; but, whether from timidity or the intrigues of the Engliſh, he did not keep his promiſe, but calmly ſuffered Ayder

to bear all the dangers of the war, and to enjoy, without the participation of any other ſovereign, the glory of being the liberator of India.

We can give no details of the operations of Ayder in the preſent war, having no other materials than the relations of the Engliſh; and on theſe we can place no dependance, becauſe they are fabricated in India to deceive the Engliſh government, and afterwards arranged in Europe according to circumſtances, and the neceſſity of impoſing on the people. So that the only thing that bears the appearance of truth, is a letter from General Coote, in which we ſee that Ayder is maſter of the Company; that in November 1781 he blockaded four places at once; that General Coote marched with his army from Madras to ſupply thoſe places with proviſions, without accompliſhing his purpoſe as effectually as the neceſſity of the caſe demanded; that the difficulty of ſubſiſting his army obliged him to bring it back into the environs of Madras; that in his marches his troops had always been harraſſed by the cavalry and artillery of

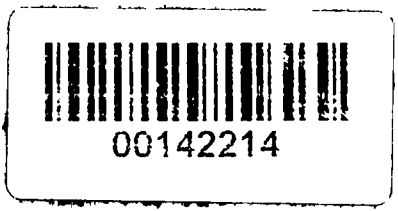
Ayder; that he had fought four obſtinate battles with Ayder, and gained the field, without ſpeaking of his having taken either priſoners, colours, or ſtandards: to all which he adds, that he ſends Colonel Crawford, who will explain the true ſtate of affairs. It may be concluded from this letter, that the Engliſh are engaged in a moſt ruinous war, and that, with the aſſiſtance of the French, it may be hoped this prince will ſucceed in taking poſſeſſion of the whole Nabobſhip of Arcot, to which his ſon has ſo juſt a title by the gift of Nizam, as has been ſhewn.

The direct news from Ayder's army gives an account of the capture of Chiteldrouc, and the particulars of a council held before they entered the country of Arcot. It was deliberated whether he ſhould attack the Engliſh, or wait till the landing of the French forces. The latter it ſeems was the general opinion, and even that of the European officers; but his ſon Tippou Saeb was of the contrary opinion, and remonſtrated that the Nabob had threatened ſo much to attack the Engliſh, that his reputation neceſſarily required him to proceed.

Tippou

Tippou Saeb ſpoke with ſo much ſpirit and animation, that he was joined by the whole council. It was this young prince who decided the battle that was attended with the deaths of the Colonels Baillie and Fletcher, by taking advantage of the diſorder the Engliſh army was thrown into by the blowing up of their ammunition waggons, to fall on them with his cavalry. The total defeat of a detachment commanded by Colonel Brawlie is likewiſe an exploit of Tippou Saeb; who having began, like Alexander, to gain battles at the age of eighteen, continues to march in the ſteps of that Grecian hero, whom he may one day reſemble as well by the heroiſm of his actions as by the multiplicity of his conqueſts. As to Ayder, we may compare him to Philip of Macedon, who formed the troops that procured the numerous victories of his ſon, and ſubdued the Greeks his neighbours, who were the enemies that were the moſt difficult to conquer.

THE END.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